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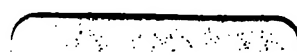




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HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY
OF THE BRITISH COLONIES

LUCAS

VOL. IV.

HENRY FROWDE, M.A.
PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD
LONDON, EDINBURGH
NEW YORK AND TORONTO

A
HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY
OF THE
BRITISH COLONIES

BY
C. P. LUCAS, B.A.
OF BALLIOL COLLEGE, OXFORD, AND THE COLONIAL OFFICE, LONDON

VOL. IV
SOUTH AND EAST AFRICA
PART I. HISTORICAL

WITH MAPS

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P R E F A C E.

FOR help in the compilation of the earlier history of South Africa I am indebted to Mr. R. L. Antrobus of the Colonial Office. In connexion with the geographical chapters in the South African section of the second part of the book, I have to acknowledge assistance from various friends with special knowledge, including Mr. Walter Peace, C.M.G., Agent-General for Natal, and Mr. Spencer Brydges Todd, C.M.G., Secretary to the Agent-General for the Cape. Some statistics relating to Matabeleland and Mashonaland have been kindly furnished from the office of the British South Africa Company. The chapters relating to British Central Africa and British East Africa have been mainly written by Mr. H. Lambert of the Colonial Office, revised and supplemented by myself; and Sir H. H. Johnston, K.C.B., has very kindly read through the proofs of the chapter on British Central Africa.

Readers may be reminded that the object of this book, as of the other books of the series, is simply and solely to try to give a connected and accurate account of British colonisation, its methods, agencies, and results, and of the various provinces of the British empire, recording facts and avoiding, as far as it is possible to do so, controversial topics. The book has been written and should be read from that point of view. Where any views are expressed, they are my own alone.

C. P. LUCAS.

Dec. 1, 1896.

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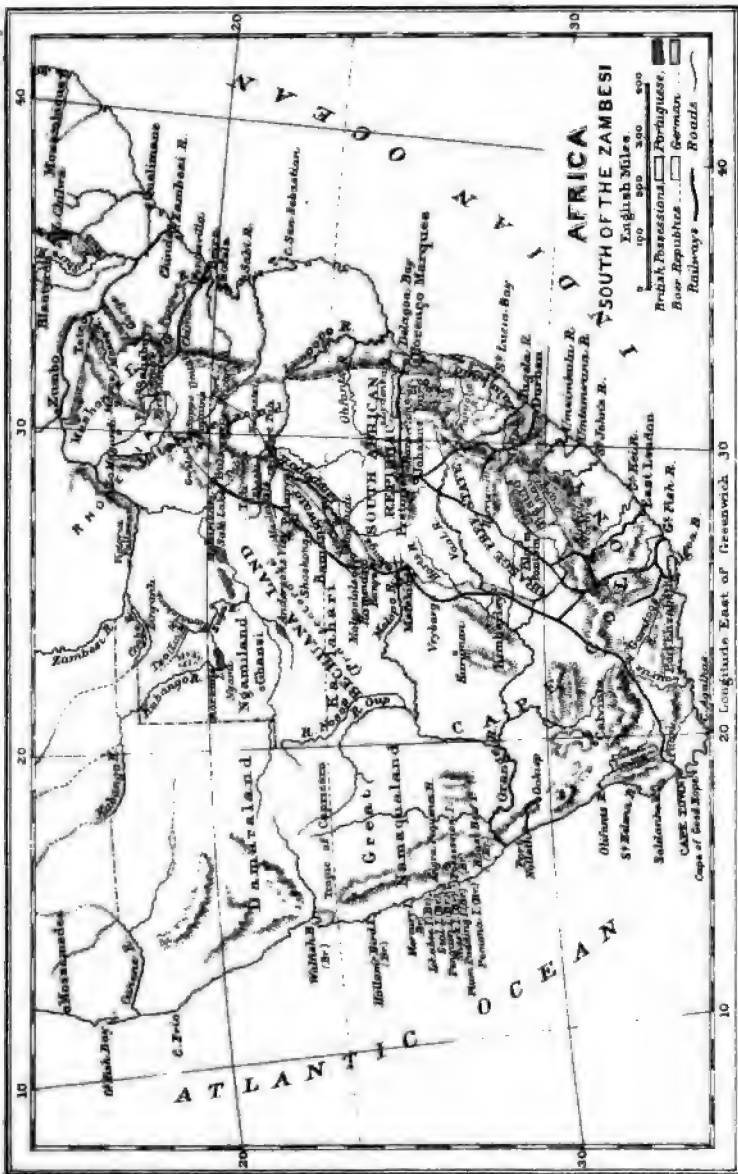
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SOUTH AND EAST AFRICA.

PART I. HISTORICAL.

CHAPTER I.

THE CAPE 1487-1652.

THE story of South Africa is unique in the chronicles of CH. I.
European colonisation. For a century and a half it is the
barren record of a landmark—the Cape. For another cen-
tury and a half it is little more than the story of a port of call, round which a small settlement gathered. It is now
The three stages in the history of South Africa.
the unfinished tale of a wide dominion.

In the days when the Portuguese were lords of the sea, the Cape was a point on the route to and from the East, to be sighted and gladly passed by. Under the Dutch it was a trading station, subsidiary to and maintained in the interests of the Netherlands Indies. In British keeping it has been the nucleus of a great European colony, the home and abiding place of a large white population.

The two main streams of European discovery and European colonisation have flowed from West to East and from

VOL. IV.

B

2 HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE COLONIES.

PART I. East to West. Only within the present century has a steady
—♦— current set to the South, carrying with it the emigrants who have made the South African and Australasian colonies. The flow has been, strictly speaking, in a south-easterly rather than a southerly direction, starting with and diverging from the main current towards the East. The Cape is the meeting place and the dividing point of the East and South, the southernmost land on the old Eastern route; and, as the Southern world has risen higher on the horizon of civilisation, as it has gradually claimed and been given a distinct place in geography and history, South Africa, from having been but a corner on the way to the East, has become what it never was in old days, a great separate sphere of European settlement.

In 1869, little more than a quarter of a century ago, the Suez Canal was opened, bringing back to the Red Sea the trade between Europe and the East. During these twenty-eight years the work of opening up Africa, and especially South Africa, has gone on apace. It is no mere fancy to suggest that here there has been some connexion of cause and effect. Africa has been severed from the Eastern world. She has been thrown back on her own resources. Men's eyes have been turned inland, instead of gazing over the Indian seas in the wake of Da Gama's ships. The more they have looked, the more they have found in a land long undervalued and long misunderstood. Africa was for centuries the handmaid of other continents. She now takes rank and station in her own acknowledged right.

The Cape peninsula. The promontory, which forms the Cape of Good Hope, is situated between 33·53 and 34·22 south latitude, and between 18·18 and 18·30 east longitude. It runs into the sea for thirty miles to the south and south-east, and has an average breadth of five to eight miles. On the north is Table Bay, and on its eastern side is False Bay, the low neck of land which divides the two bays and connects the peninsula with

the continent being about eleven miles across. On the western and southern shores of Table Bay stands Cape-town, and immediately behind it Table Mountain rises to a height of 3,500 feet. The peninsula begins with the Table Mountain range; it ends in cliffs with two peaks, the higher of which is known as Vasco da Gama peak.

CH. I.



Table Bay was originally called Saldanha Bay, named after Antonio de Saldanha, who visited it in 1503¹. In the account of the first voyage, undertaken in 1601 for the newly formed English East India Company, we read, 'Over the bay of Saldania standeth a very high hill, flat like a table, and is called the Table; such another plain mark to find a harbour in is not in all that coast².' In 1601 the Dutch admiral Spilbergen transferred the name to the present Saldanha Bay, on the south-west coast of the Cape Colony; but for years afterwards the old name of Saldanha still clung to the bay under Table Mountain, and was only gradually supplanted by that of Table Bay³.

*Table Bay
originally
called Sal-
danha Bay.*

False Bay is much larger than Table Bay, extending for some eighteen miles inland. On its western side, Simons Bay runs into the Cape peninsula, forming a harbour where there is now a coaling-station and dockyard for the Imperial fleet. The entrance to False Bay is sixteen miles wide, between the Cape of Good Hope on the west, and Cape

False Bay.

¹ The received account is that Saldanha landed in Table Bay on the way out from Europe in 1503; but, according to the Commentaries of Albuquerque (Hakluyt Soc. Ed., pt. i. p. 33), he discovered it on his way home in 1506 or 1507. The words are: 'When he was on his course doubling the Cape of Good Hope, he discovered a very favourable watering-place for the ships, before the island of St. Helena had been noticed. To this he gave the name of the watering-station of Saldanha; and it was here that the Cafres of the land murdered the Viceroy D. Francisco D'Almeida, when he touched there to take water on his way from India to Portugal.'

² From Purchas' narrative of the voyage, reprinted in The Voyages of Sir James Lancaster, Kt., to the East Indies, edited by Sir Clements Markham for the Hakluyt Society (p. 65).

³ Reference to the Calendar of State Papers will show that, at any rate down to the year 1634, the English always spoke of Table Bay as Saldanha Bay, and called the natives 'Saldanians.'

4 HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE COLONIES.

ART I. Hangklip on the east. This latter cape used to be known as 'False Cape'—'the false Cape de Bona Speranza,' as Linschoten calls it, giving the following explanation of the name. 'This hook is called the false or unright Cape, because the ships that sail from India to Portugal do first discover a great corner or hook of land called delli Agughe, and after that this smaller hook, and therefore call it the false cape, being separated from the right and great cape¹.'

Agulhas. The Cape of Good Hope is the south-western end of Africa. The southernmost point is about ninety miles further to the south-east, at Cape Agulhas—the Needles². Off this cape the warm Mozambique current, flowing to the south-west, meets a cold counter-stream from the Antarctic regions; and the strife between warm and cold water and warm and cold air gives rise to the gales, which, at certain times of the year, still make the passage round South Africa difficult and dangerous. The name Stormy Cape is perhaps even more applicable to Cape Agulhas than to the Cape of Good Hope itself.

*by
ices of* In a preceding volume of this book³, a sketch has been

¹ From Linschoten's Discourse of Voyages to the East and West Indies, bk. ii.; The True and Perfect Description of the whole coast of Guinea, Manicongo, Angola, Monomotapa, &c. (Eng. Tr. 1598), p. 211. Similarly Purchas says The Cape of Good Hope 'hath three headlands, the westernmost beareth the name of Good Hope, the middlemost Cabo Falso, because they have sometimes in their return from the Indies mistaken this for the former The third and easternmost is that of Agulhas or Needles.' (Purchas' Pilgrimage, 1617 ed. bk. vii. chap. viii. sec. 2, p. 865.)

² For the origin of the name, see Linschoten (as above), bk. iii.; The Navigation of the Portingales into the East Indies, chap. ii. p. 310: 'Also by this Cape (Agulhas) the needle of the compass is right and even.' See also the Voyage of Pyrard de Laval, edited for the Hakluyt Society by Mr. Albert Gray, vol. i. chap. ii. p. 22: 'It is named the Cape of the Needles, because at this place the compasses or needles remain fixed, pointing directly to the north, without any declination to the east or west; when it is doubled, they begin to decline to the north-east.' Mr. Gray, in his note to this passage, quotes John Davis as also mentioning that off Cape Agulhas 'the compass hath no variation.'

³ Vol. iii. sec. 1, chap. ii.

given of the early Portuguese voyages down the African coast. It has been seen how, in 1487, Bartholomew Diaz was carried by wind and storm into the southern seas beyond and out of sight of the Cape; how he beat up to the shores of Africa, and sailed as far as Algoa Bay; and how on his return voyage he sighted the headland, whose name has since become a household word. Cape of Storms he called it, in bitter memory of the dangers he had passed; Cape of Good Hope his king re-christened it, brightly looking to the future; for round it lay the long sought road to the Indies. That road was traversed in November, 1497, by Vasco da Gama. Even in fine weather Da Gama found that off the Cape the seas ran high, and for many long years to come, the south coast of Africa maintained its evil reputation. In a letter written from Goa in 1579, and preserved for us in Hakluyt's collection¹, the Jesuit, Thomas Stephens, gives a vivid picture of the dangers of the voyage round the Cape. He had sailed from Lisbon for the Indies in a Portuguese ship and 'we came at length,' he writes, 'unto the point so famous and feared of all men.' Finding 'no tempest, only great waves,' the pilot kept too near the land, a south wind sprang up, blowing towards the shore, and Stephens and his companions were in imminent danger of shipwreck. 'The ship stood in less than fourteen fathoms of water, no more than five miles from the Cape which is called das Agulias, and there we stood as utterly castaway; for under us were rocks of mainstone so sharp and cutting that no anchor could hold the ship, the shore so evil that nothing could take land, and the land itself so full of tigers and people that are savage and killers of all strangers, that we had no hope of life nor comfort but only in God and a good conscience.'

Four years later, in 1583, another and more famous *Linschoten*.

¹ Hakluyt, vol. ii. (1810-11 ed.), p. 583.

6 HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE COLONIES.

PART I. traveller, the young Dutchman, John Huygen van Linschoten, left Lisbon for the East, having taken service under the Archbishop of Goa. He started for home early in 1589 on board a Portuguese vessel, and so bad was the weather, so contrary the winds, that the ship, sailing direct from Cochin, took three months and three days before she was able to double the Cape. He writes of the Cape as 'the greatest hook or cape, and that reacheth furthest into the sea of any cape whatsoever in all the world'; he comments on the strength of the winds and the roughness of the noisy sea, 'whereby so many Portugal ships have there been cast away,' and he adds a new explanation of the name 'Cape of Good Hope' in the following words: 'This head is called the Cape de Bona Speranza, that is head of Good Hope, for that all the ships that sail to India or from India to Portugal do fear the passing of this Cape, thinking if they pass it to have passed all danger¹.'

Pyrard de Laval.

One more old traveller may be quoted to the same effect. Returning, like Linschoten, in a Portuguese ship from his wanderings in the East Indies, the Frenchman Pyrard de Laval sighted the Cape of Good Hope on April 8, 1610. With six hours more of fair wind, the Cape would have been doubled; but heavy gales sprang up, and it was not till the last day of May that the dreaded promontory was passed. Indeed, if the captain and some of the passengers had had their way, they would have attempted to retrace their steps to India rather than face the perils of the Stormy Cape. More than 120 years had passed since Diaz first sighted these shores, but experience had not given courage, and familiarity had not bred contempt. 'This Cape of Good Hope,' says the writer, 'is called the Lion of the sea, because it is so

¹ From the same passage as has been quoted above. See p. 4, note. Linschoten spent a long time in the Azores, and did not come back to Europe till 1592. He published his book in 1596. The English translation is dated 1598.

furious¹. He speaks, like other travellers, of the signs of land which told that the Cape was near, the floating reeds, the sea wolves, and the birds, 'the sentinels which God has been pleased to place there.' He notes the currents, the contrary winds, the 'great and high mountains all of bare rock, with precipices and lofty peaks which seem to touch the clouds,' the savage natives who lined the beach and who seemed to his excited imagination to be waiting to devour any castaways.

CH. I.

Such was the witness borne to the perils of the Stormy Cape by an Englishman, a Dutchman, and a Frenchman, each of whom was a passenger on a Portuguese ship. If we turn to an account derived from an Englishman on board an English ship we have a different picture presented to us. Traditional dangers and superstitions were not wont to trouble English sailors of the days of Elizabeth, and thirty years before the date of Pyrard's voyage, on June 18, 1580, Sir Francis Drake, returning from his voyage round the world, passed the Cape in fair weather. He did not land, but 'ran hard aboard the Cape, finding the report of the Portugals to be most false, who affirm that it is the most dangerous cape of the world, never without intolerable storms and present danger to travellers which come near the same.' Drake testified on the contrary that 'the Cape is a most stately thing, and the fairest cape we saw in the whole

Francis
Drake.

¹ See the voyage of Pyrard de Laval, edited for the Hakluyt Society by Mr. Albert Gray, 1887-90, vol. ii. pt. ii. chap. xxiii. The passage continues: 'This Cape, or rather that of the Needles (Aiguilles), which projects still farther, is at 35 degrees from the equinoctial line towards the Antarctic Pole; that which is properly called the Cape of Good Hope is at 34½ degrees.' John Davis ascribes the term 'Lion of the Sea' to Cape Agulhas. 'The Portugals,' he writes, 'call this place the Lion of the Sea by reason of the extreme fury and danger which they find in doubling of this Cape' (Voyages and Works of John Davis, edited by Mr. A. H. Markham for the Hakluyt Society, 1880, p. 164). For the Trombas or floating reeds off the Cape, and the sea birds known as Mangas de velludo or 'velvet sleeves,' see Mr. Gray's Notes to Pyrard, vol. i. pp. 20-21.

8 HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE COLONIES.

PART I. circumference of the earth¹. His words would doubtless
—♦— not have been so bright, had the winds been contrary and
the sea been high : but the difference between his view and
commonly accepted accounts meant more than the difference
between fair and foul weather. It was not merely that the
Portuguese sailors were more superstitious than the English,
or that for political reasons the Portuguese had exaggerated
the dangers of the only road which led into their eastern
domain. It was that the English were beginning to know
and love the ocean, that what had been the Cape of Storms
to the voyagers of Southern Europe was becoming the Cape
of Good Hope to the adventurers of the north. The year
1580, in which Drake came sailing in triumph round the
world, was the year in which Portugal became subject to
the Spanish Crown, while on the other hand the Dutchmen
of the Seven Provinces declared themselves independent of
Spain. Thenceforward Portugal lost her spirit and her
strength, and Dutch and English drove her from the sea.

*he decline
the Por-
tuguese.* Linschoten tells us that the Portuguese captain of the ship
in which he came back round the Cape in 1589 ' marvelled at
nothing so much as why our Lord God suffered them (being
so good Christians and Catholics as they were) to pass the
Cape with so great torments and dangerous weather, having
so great and strong ships, and that the Englishmen being (as
he said) heretics and blasphemers of God, with so small and
weak vessels, passed the Cape so easily ; for they had received
news in India that an English ship had passed the Cape with
very great ease.' The English ship in question was the one
in which Thomas Cavendish repeated Drake's exploit of
sailing round the world, and it passed by the Cape without
danger or difficulty in May, 1588. The reason why the
English and the Dutch fared better on the sea than the
Portuguese is not far to seek. Linschoten notes how badly

¹ Hakluyt (1811 ed.), vol. iv. p. 246.

provided was the ship in which he took his passage home ; when storm came on no ropes could be found, and the officers threw the blame on one another. Large, cumbrous, dirty, ill prepared, overladen with cargo and with passengers, badly commanded, badly manned, the Portuguese carracks which sailed to and from India, like the huge ships which composed the Spanish Armada, were good neither for sailing nor for fighting. They were at the mercy of the waves in time of storm ; they could offer little resistance to foreign foes. Englishmen and Dutchmen, on the contrary, sailed safely onward in small, trim, well-found vessels, manned by expert seamen. Their ships were the ships of the coming people and of the coming time. The Portuguese fleets, like those to whom they belonged, were out of date and overweighted with the past¹.

CH. I.



The power of Portugal, however, did not begin definitely to wane much before 1580 ; and the quotations which have been given above refer to the later years of the sixteenth and the early years of the seventeenth century. Before that time the Portuguese were strong, and the Cape was within their own exclusive sphere. It might have been supposed therefore that here, at the turning point in their voyages to and from the East, they would have formed some kind of station ; and one of their commanders, early in the sixteenth century, is said to have recommended that a post should be established on the shores of South Africa, somewhere to the east of the Cape. As a matter of fact no step of the kind was taken ; the passing ships in most cases kept well away from the land ; and, if they touched, remained only long enough to take in fresh water. The watering places appear to have been

*The Cape
in Portu-
guese times.*

¹ See Pyrard (as above) vol. ii. pt. i. chap. xiv. p. 180, and Mr. Gray's Introduction to that volume, pp. xxxiii-iv. It is, however, fair to add, as showing that at the beginning of the seventeenth century the Portuguese had not yet lost all their seamanship, that Purchas in his *Pilgrimage* (1617 ed. bk. vii. chap. viii. sec. 2) speaks of a Portuguese having sailed round the Cape from India in a very small boat.

10 HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE COLONIES.

PART I. Table Bay, known as Agoada de Saldanha, or Saldanha's watering place¹, and False Bay, where a freshwater stream, Rio Dulce, ran into the sea, fabled to have taken its rise from a lake situated in the Mountains of the Moon². Early in the seventeenth century, in the year 1608, a report reached England that the Spanish government, then rulers of Portugal, intended to form a military settlement at the Cape, hoping to stop en route the Dutch and English traders, who were by this time making themselves felt in the East Indies³; but, whether or not anything of the kind was ever seriously contemplated, it is certain that nothing was done, and it is equally certain that after the beginning of the seventeenth century it was far too late for Spain and Portugal to attempt to hold the Cape.

In their voyages round South Africa it was not only wind, waves, and rocks that the Portuguese feared. The natives of that coast, the Cape Hottentots, as can be gathered from the passages already quoted, also contributed to make it unattractive. These 'killers of all strangers,' as Stephens called them, had early done something to justify their ill repute. On the occasion of Saldanha's first visit to Table Bay, the Hottentots attacked the white men; and a few years later a more serious disaster occurred. On his voyage home from India, in 1510, Francisco de Almeida, the first viceroy of the Portuguese Indies, anchored in Table Bay; a party of sailors landed to traffic with the natives, and ended by quarrelling with them. On the following day the viceroy led an armed party to attack the native village where the quarrel had occurred, with the result that he himself was killed and sixty-five of his followers. From that date onward Portuguese ships rarely touched at the Cape.

*Francisco
de Almeida
killed by the
Hottentots.*

¹ See above, p. 3 and note.

² See Linschoten, as above, bk. ii. p. 211, and Purchas' Pilgrimage, as above, p. 865.

³ See the Calendar of State Papers Colonial, East Indies, 1513-1616, Extract No. 419, p. 177.

In a word, to the Portuguese the Cape was nothing but a landmark. They discovered it; they went round it to and fro for a century and more; but they merely came and looked on it and passed by on the other side, leaving to later comers to turn it to account. Were it not for records in prose and verse¹, for old maps, and for names such as Agulhas, Algoa, Saldanha, and the like, which tell the nationality of the Europeans who first visited these shores, there would be nothing to show that this people, who elsewhere by race, language, and religion left such a strong impress upon the history of colonisation, had ever found their way to the southernmost parts of Africa.

CH. I.



Three years after Thomas Cavendish sailed past the Cape, the first Englishmen set foot on South African soil. On April 10, 1591, 'three tall ships' left Plymouth. They were the *Penelope*, the *Royal Merchant*, and the *Edward Bonaventure*. The last-named was in command of James Lancaster, and two accounts of the voyage by men on board his ship have been preserved by Hakluyt². By the time the Cape peninsula was sighted, the crews were weak and ill with scurvy, and, anxious to recruit them, the captains bore up to land. 'Going along the shore,' says the narrative, 'we espied a goodly bay, with an island lying to seawards of it, into which we did bear and found it very commodious for our ships to ride in. This bay is called Agoada de Saldanha, lying fifteen leagues northward on the hither side of the Cape.' The bay was Table Bay, the island was Robben Island. The ships stayed for about a month in Table Bay, and then, having sent the *Royal Merchant* home with the

¹ e. g. Camoens.

² These two accounts, one by Edmund Barker, the other by Henry May, are reprinted in *The Voyages of Sir James Lancaster, Kt., to the East Indies* (edited for the Hakluyt Society by Sir Clements Markham, 1877). They give us one of the earliest notices of St. Helena, which Lancaster visited on his return voyage (see vol. iii. of this work, pp. 254-5), and of the Bermudas, on which Henry May was wrecked (see vol. ii. of this work, p. 7).

12 HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE COLONIES.

PART I. ailing seamen, Raymond, the admiral of the expedition, in the *Penelope*, and Lancaster in the *Bonaventure*, went their way to the East. They found no difficulty in doubling the Cape; but off Cape Corrientes, Raymond and his ship were lost in a storm, and Lancaster alone reached the Straits of Malacca and Ceylon. On his return voyage he did not land at the Cape, but passed it in March, 1593, after being detained for a month or five weeks by adverse winds: and finally, after touching at St. Helena, he lost his ship in the West Indies, and came back on board a Dieppe vessel, reaching home in May, 1594.

The name of the next Englishman who visited the Cape is better known even than that of Lancaster. In 1598 John Davis sailed from Flushing for the East as chief pilot to two Dutch ships, the *Lion* and *Lioness*, commanded by Cornelius Houtman. This was not the first Dutch voyage round the Cape, for in the years 1595-7 Houtman had already found his way to the East by this route¹. In November the ships anchored in Table Bay, which is described (more accurately than in the account of Lancaster's voyage) as being ten leagues short of the Cape. They stayed a little over a fortnight, sailed on to the East, where Houtman was murdered at Acheen, and came back in storm round the Cape in March, 1600, arriving in Holland in July of that year.

The sixteenth century passed away in giving birth to the greatest of all chartered companies. On December 31, 1600, Queen Elizabeth granted a Royal Charter to the English East India Company, under the title of 'The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies.' The Directors lost no time in starting their first venture; and in the following February five ships sailed from Woolwich for the East, commanded by Lancaster and piloted by John Davis. As before, Lancaster put into Table

¹ Between the dates of Houtman's two voyages another expedition was sent out from the Netherlands under James Van Neck.

Bay to heal his scurvy-stricken company, and stayed there from September 9 to the end of October; and again, when homeward bound in May, 1603, he encountered bad weather off the Cape, driven hopelessly by wind and wave 'in such a tempestuous sea and so stormy a place so that, I think, there be few worse in all the world¹.' He reached home in September, 1603, and his ships were almost immediately fitted out for the second of the Company's voyages to the East. This time the commander was Sir Henry Middleton, who started from Gravesend on March 25, and in the middle of July came to anchor in Table Bay. His instructions had been to pass on to Madagascar without touching at the Cape, but his seamen were so ailing, that he was compelled to land on the shores of Table Bay in the middle of July and to stay there till the middle of August. On his voyage home also he stopped again to refit from the middle of December, 1605, to the middle of January, 1606.

CH. I.

—♦—

*The second
voyage com-
manded by
Middleton.*

Contemporaneous with this voyage was that of a private adventurer, Sir Edward Mitchelborne. He had been an original member of the East India Company, but was for some reason or other expelled from it. Being, however, high in favour with King James I, he obtained a licence to sail to the East, where, by plundering and freebooting, he damaged the prospects of British trade. His voyage is chiefly memorable as being the last voyage of John Davis, who went out as Mitchelborne's pilot, and was killed off the Malay peninsula at the end of 1605. On his way out from England, Mitchelborne, like the voyagers who came before and after him, stayed for some time at Table Bay.

*Mitchel-
borne's
voyage.*

During these years the Dutch were no less active than the English in pressing on to the East. Houtman's expeditions were followed by two voyages, one in 1599 under Pieter Both² and Van Caerden, and another in 1601 under Spil-

*Dutch
voyages
to the East.*

¹ Lancaster's Voyages to the East Indies (Hakluyt Soc.), p. 103.

² Pieter Both, afterwards Governor of Batavia, was lost off Mauritius

14 HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE COLONIES.

PART I. *Formation of the Dutch East India Company.* bergen; and in March, 1602, the States-General consolidated the various companies, which had been formed in the Netherlands for trading in the East, into the Dutch East India Company.

French and Danish East India Companies. Two years later, in 1604, the first French East India Company was established; and in 1612 the Danes followed suit. Thus, before the seventeenth century was many years old, all the trading nations of Northern Europe had entered the race for the Indies.

Early notices of Table Bay. The various notices of Table Bay contained in the accounts of the old voyages bear a family resemblance to each other. We read in them of a place of 'royal refreshing¹,' where, in life-giving air, supplied with fresh water and fresh meat, sailors recovered their health and strength. Mention is made of the infinite number of penguins and seals on the island, which thence derived its old name of Penguin and its later name of Robben² Island; and the varieties of animal life on the mainland are duly recorded, including antelopes, baboons, ostriches, birds of various kinds, oxen, and sheep which 'have great tails like the sheep in Syria.' 'In this place,' writes the chronicler of Davis' last voyage, 'we had excellent good refreshing, in so much that I think the like place is not to be found among savage people.' It was, he says, 'a goodly country, inhabited by a most savage and beastly people as ever I think God created³.'

Description of the Hottentots. Very lifelike are the descriptions given of the Hottentots at the Cape, who are usually referred to under the name of

in 1616. The famous rock over the harbour of Port Louis in Mauritius is named after him.

¹ From Lancaster's Voyages, page 64. See also Davis' Voyages.

² Robben Island, about five miles north of the entrance of Table Bay, is called from the Dutch *rob*, 'a seal.' Thus Leguat, who visited the Cape in 1691, writes: 'The isle was in truth so called from certain fish named in Flemish *robben*. They are a sort of sea dogs found in great abundance about this island.' (See the Voyage of François Leguat, edited by Capt. Pasfield Oliver for the Hakluyt Society, 1891.)

³ See Davis' Voyages (Hakluyt Society), p. 162.

Saldanians. 'The people of this place,' says one of the earliest accounts, 'are all of a tawny colour, of a reasonable stature, swift of foot, and much given to pick and steal; their speech is wholly uttered through the throat, and they cluck with their tongues in such sort, that in seven weeks which we remained here in this place, the sharpest wit among us could not learn a word of their language¹.' Savages of a low type, filthy and revolting in their habits, they were, when kindly handled, ready to barter sheep and oxen for knives and pieces of old iron; and, if they were suspicious of strangers, moving away on the slightest sign of the white men taking up their residence on shore, they had at least just grounds for suspicion. When Davis visited the Cape with Houtman's expedition, the natives came down with their cattle and sheep for sale, but were turned from friends to foes in consequence of 'the Flemings offering them some rude wrong²'; and the account of the sixth voyage of the English East India Company, in 1610, suggests that the difficulty which was then found in procuring cattle may have been due to the Dutchmen having spoiled the trade 'by their overmuch libertys³,' or to the wrongdoing of French whalers. The English sailors, it is true, also at times fell foul of the Hottentots; but their instructions were to keep peace with the natives of the places which they visited⁴, and on the whole their dealings appear to have contrasted favourably with those of the Dutch.

CH. I.



*Treatment
of the
natives by
Europeans.*

¹ From the narrative of the first voyage for the East India Company under Lancaster (Lancaster's Voyages, Hakluyt Soc. p. 64). Similarly Davis, in his account of his voyage to the East Indies with Houtman, writes of the Hottentots that 'in speaking they cluck with the tongue like a brood hen, which clucking and the word are both pronounced together very strangely' (Davis' Voyages, Hakluyt Soc. p. 135).

² Davis' Voyages, p. 135.

³ Journal of the sixth voyage kept by Nicholas Downton (Lancaster's Voyages, Hakluyt Soc. p. 155).

⁴ See the East India Company's instructions to Sir Henry Middleton in 1604, given on p. 10 of the Appendix to the Voyage of Sir Henry Middleton (Hakluyt Soc. 1855).

RT I. In June, 1615, some English ships bound for the East
 ↖↖
 of Sir
 mas
 anchored in Table Bay. They were taking out Sir Thomas
 Roe on a mission from King James I to the Court of the
 Mogul, and a pillar was set up on the shore to com-
 memorate the object of the voyage. On this occasion the
 Hottentots received their visitors with the greatest cordiality;
 they kept their hands from picking and stealing, they showed
 no timidity or suspicion, and some of them expressed readi-
 ness to go to England when the fleet returned. The reason
 was, that one of their number had lately been taken to Eng-
 land, hospitably treated, and sent back to the Cape with
 various presents, including a much-prized suit of copper
 armour. His fellow tribesmen were in consequence well
 disposed towards the English, but at the same time had
 learnt from his experience among white men a lesson in
 trade. 'Time was,' says the narrative, 'when iron hoops
 and nails would have served the turn, but the humour altered
 from that to copper; now they are come from copper to
 brass, and they say they must have pieces of a foot square
 or more¹.' Thus good treatment produced much the same
 result as bad—a scarcity of beef and mutton at Table Bay.

ding of
 icts at
 Cape.
 The ships which were escorting Sir Thomas Roe had on
 board some Japanese and Indians, returning to their own
 lands. They carried also 'a load of the choice drugs of our
 own country, which the law having swept out of doors at
 home, were to be disposed of up and down in foreign parts
 at discretion.' The East India Company, it seems, had
 interceded for a certain number of condemned criminals and
 obtained their pardon 'that they might be sent over in these

¹ From the Second Voyage into the East Indies performed by Captain
 Peyton with the Expedition, together with the *Dragon*, *Lion*, and *Pepper-
 corn*, under the command of Captain Keeling. (Harris' Collection of
 Voyages, 1705, vol. i. p. 149.) Some reference to this voyage is also
 given in Churchill's Collection, 3rd ed. 1744, vol. i. p. 626, Sir Thomas
 Roe's Diary. It is there said of the Hottentots, 'They have left off
 their custom of stealing, but know no God or religion.'

ships to make discoveries in those places where they should be left.' So Spanish criminals had been sent to America in the train of Columbus; so Angola and Brazil had been settled by the gaolbirds of Portugal; so Frobisher had sailed to explore the Arctic regions with a company recruited from English prisons. Some of these 'lewd malefactors' were turned loose at the Cape, and left to their fate, each being given a weapon to defend himself. The chronicler of the voyage, who evidently was alive to the immorality of scattering English felons broadcast through the world, consoles himself by reflecting that the Hottentots were such expert thieves that 'at least our men and the Soldanians could not well debauch one another,' and that in fact 'to bring thieves to Soldania is but carrying coals to Newcastle, or rats and mice into a house that swarmed with vermin before.'

But the Cape was not destined to become a receptacle for convicts from England either in the seventeenth or in the nineteenth century. No trace was subsequently found of the men who were thus cast away, and other 'condemned men' who were left in the following year disappeared also. They no doubt exchanged the gallows in their own country for a violent death at the hands of the savages of South Africa.

From the date when the East India Companies were formed, Table Bay gradually became a regular stopping-place for ships bound for the East. Some vessels called there also on the way home, but the majority passed by and touched instead at St. Helena. The English and the Dutch were the most constant visitors, but French and Danish ships came as well. It became the custom for the captains of each expedition to inscribe on the rocks the fact of their arrival and departure, to look for letters which had been deposited by former comers under stones or in the earth, and in turn to leave their own letters for other ships to pick up. Constant reference to this practice is made in the old records of the East India Company, and a graphic account of finding

Table Bay becomes a regular stopping-place for ships bound for the East.

Custom of leaving letters on the shore.

18 HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE COLONIES.

PART I. some buried letters is given in the memoir of an early French voyage to the East. The commander of the expedition in question was Admiral Beaulieu, who sailed from Honfleur in October, 1619, and reached Table Bay in March, 1620. There he and his companions found corpses of men and clothes, and a small earthen fortification, which they took to have been built by the Danes. Moreover, the narrative continues, 'some of our men going ashore happened to light upon a great stone, with two little packs of pitched canvas underneath, which we afterwards found to be Dutch letters.' The letters were wrapped up in various coverings which kept them as they had been left by the careful Hollanders, 'very safe and dry.' When opened, they were found to contain accounts of various ships which had passed, and especially of an English boat sent home to warn the Company of the conduct of the Dutch in the East Indies. 'They likewise gave notice to all ships that passed that way to take care of the natives, who had murdered several of their crew and stole some of their water-casks¹.' Two or three months later we read of Dutch and English ships at Table Bay agreeing to interchange their letters and accounts, and carry them out and home ; but, what with the jealousies of rival nations, the uncertainty of the ships' visits, and the certainty of the Hottentots laying their hands on anything they might find, the fate of any letters left at the Cape in the early years of the seventeenth century must have been most precarious.

Reasons why no settlement was formed at the Cape in the early days of the East India Companies. Why was it that in these years no European settlement was formed at the Cape? Here was a spot half-way to the Indies, with wholesome air, with fresh water, with fruits of the earth, with fish, flesh, and fowl, and with prospects of seal and whale fishing. It was a place well worth taking and keeping, yet till the middle of the seventeenth century it was

¹ From the Memoirs of Admiral Beaulieu's Voyages to the East Indies drawn up by himself, translated from Monsieur Thevenot's large collection of Voyages (Harris' Collection of Voyages and Travels, 1705, vol. i. p. 230).

not permanently taken and kept. The Dutch and English East India Companies repeatedly considered the matter; at one time they even contemplated establishing a joint station; and, in default of a fortified post on land, the Directors of the English Company had it in their minds to send out a provision-ship yearly to Table Bay to supply the East Indiamen with necessaries. Nothing practical however seems to have come of their deliberations. The truth was that these trading Companies were in their infancy. Their resources were limited. They wished to concentrate all their energies on and to devote all their available capital to the one main object of trade with the East, and to spend, if possible, nothing on the way. They did not relish the prospect of an annual outlay on an isolated station in stormy seas, at a place where there would be constant collision with savages¹, and which it might be difficult to defend against the fleets of rival nations.

CH. I.

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Yet the English very nearly secured the Cape, for on one occasion two English captains actually and formally annexed it to the British Crown. On June 24, 1620, Andrew Shilling and Humphrey Fitz-Herbert, commanding expeditions of the East India Company bound for Surat and Bantam respectively, anchored together in Table Bay, Shilling having among his company the great Arctic explorer, William Baffin. The English found nine Dutch ships lying in the Bay, *en route* for Bantam, and also a British vessel, the *Lion*, which was homeward bound. The Dutch fleet sailed the following day; but, before they left, they gave the English to under-

Proclamation of British sovereignty over South Africa by Shilling and Fitz-Herbert.

¹ This was probably the main reason why Middleton, commander of the second voyage of the East India Company, was, as already stated (above, p. 13), instructed not to touch at Table Bay. The words of the instructions were: 'For the place of your refreshing, we wish it to be the island of St. Lawrence (Madagascar), but not at Saldania in any wise; for the inconveniences of that island [bay] *have been* noted unto us by men of good experience, and their caution given us to beware of the danger of that place; wherefore we require you to shun this place as our express order and will herein.' (The Voyage of Sir Henry Middleton, Hakluyt. Soc. App., p. 11.)

PART I. stand that the States-General intended in the next year to take possession of Table Bay. Thereupon the two English commanders took counsel together, and fearing that in future their countrymen 'should be frustrated of watering but by license,' they determined to lose no time in registering a prior claim. On July 3, in the presence of Dutch as well as English, for another Dutch ship had in the meantime arrived, by solemn proclamation they took 'quiet and peaceable possession of the Bay of Saldania,' and of the whole continent adjoining so far as it was not occupied by any Christian power, in the name of their sovereign King James. For a memorial they raised a cairn on a hill lying west-south-west from the anchorage, calling it King James's Mount; and they gave a small flag to the natives to be kept in honour of the event¹.

Skilling's attempt to annex the Cape compared with Gilbert's annexation of Newfoundland.

The description of the proceedings on this occasion recalls what had taken place nearly forty years before on the coast of Newfoundland. Like Table Bay, the harbour of St. John's had been neutral ground for the ships of all nations, and, when Humphrey Gilbert came there in 1583, he found thirty-six vessels lying at anchor. He took possession of the land by ceremony of rod and turf, in the name of Queen Elizabeth. He set up the arms of England on the shore; and the foreigners, outwardly at any rate, acquiesced in his action, just as the Dutch at Table Bay 'seemed likewise much to approve the same.' Possibly in both cases acquiescence was not merely due to fear, but also to a feeling that all would gain by the recognition of some definite authority. At any

¹ There is a manuscript copy of the Proclamation at the India Office; and a copy, though not quite word for word, is printed in the first edition (1801) of Barrow's *Travels in Southern Africa*, vol. i. pp. 2-5. Reference should also be made to two letters, of which an abstract is given in the *Calendar of State Papers*, one from Eustace Man to the East India Company, dated October 13, 1620; the other from Joseph Hopkinson to the East India Company, dated December 2, 1620.

rate there is no record that on either occasion a protest was made at the time and on the spot.

CH. I.

Neither at Newfoundland nor at the Cape was the proclamation of sovereignty immediately followed by British occupation. But the English never lost the title to Newfoundland which Gilbert gave them, and from his visit to St. John's Harbour we date our oldest colony. Shilling's and Fitz-Herbert's proclamation bore no such fruit. The king, whose subjects they were, 'the high and mighty Prince James, by the grace of God King of Great Britain,' was not a man to whom a spirited policy would commend itself; and the Company which employed them shrank from the task of founding a settlement in the Southern seas. In vain the captains pleaded the convenience of the bay for the purposes of the East Indian trade, the fruitfulness of the soil, the salubrity of the air, and the profits to be expected from the whale fishery. Their proclamation was stillborn; their advice was rejected; and nearly two centuries passed before the English became owners of the Cape.

So ends the first period in the story of South Africa. The curtain falls upon a Southern peninsula, well known to European sailors bound to and from the East; not dreaded as once it was, but not loved; a No-man's land, as far as white men were concerned; a land of doubtful promise for the future. On the west and on the east of Africa, at Angola and Mozambique, the Portuguese held sway, and their claims vaguely extended into the interior, where below the Zambesi were the lands of Manica and Monomotapa. But the South, stormbound and unalluring, was not for them. It was to be in times to come for peoples more prosaic but more stedfast, slow, but very sure.

To the Dutch and English too the Cape was for many long years a place of little worth. Their minds were intent on the East and all the East had to give. Their object was to leave Africa behind. They could not tell that on the

22 *HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE COLONIES.*

PART I. shores of a desolate bay, by the side of a rocky promontory,
—♦— at the uttermost end of the Old World, a settlement would
rise, which should be a Metropolis in the true Greek sense of
the word, a mother of European states in South Africa.
They could not foresee that the point of Africa, which was
furthest from Europe, would be the main inlet of European
colonisation into the continent, and that great territories
would be peopled and planted by Europeans coming up from
the south. All this was in the womb of the future. Mean-
while sailors looked for letters under stones upon the beach,
and Hottentots grazed their flocks and herds by Table Bay.

CHAPTER II.

THE FOUNDING OF THE DUTCH SETTLEMENT AT THE CAPE.

IN the year 1648, the *Haarlem*, a ship belonging to the Netherlands East India Company, was wrecked at Table Bay. The crew landed and encamped where Capetown now stands. They sowed seeds and grew vegetables, they procured game and fish, and they trafficked peaceably with the natives for cattle and sheep. For five months they lived in comfort and plenty, until other Dutch vessels arrived and carried them home.

CH. II.
—+—
*The wreck
of the
Haarlem
at Table
Bay.*

On their return to the Netherlands, two of their number, in July, 1649, made a representation to the Company, pointing out, as others had already pointed out, the desirability of forming a settlement at the Cape. They contrasted it favourably as a place of refreshment with St. Helena, of which island the Dutch had taken possession in or about 1645; they gave a good character to the natives, of whom they could speak with some experience, laying stress on the point that the Hottentot children might be trained as servants and educated in the Christian religion; and they expressed their surprise that the 'public enemies' of the Netherlands, the Spaniards and Portuguese, had not already made Table Bay a basis for attacking the Dutch ships which passed year after year bringing back to Europe the merchandise of the Indies.

*Suggestions
made to the
Nether-
lands East
India Com-
pany for the
establish-
ment of a
station at
Table Bay.*

PART I.

—♦—
*The suggestions
 carried out
 under Jan
 Van
 Riebeeck in
 1652.*

The Directors of the Company took time to consider the memorial, but at length resolved to act upon the suggestions which it contained. They selected to take charge of the enterprise Jan Van Riebeeck, who had been a surgeon in their service, and had lately visited the Cape on board the fleet which rescued the crew of the *Haarlem*; and under his command they despatched two ships and a smaller vessel, with orders to build and garrison a fort on the shores of Table Bay. The little expedition left the Texel on Christmas Eve in 1651. On April 6, 1652, it reached its destination. Thus, 165 years after Diaz first sighted the Cape of Good Hope, Europeans began permanently to settle in South Africa.

*The Dutch,
 their pros-
 perity and
 greatness.*

At the time when Van Riebeeck was sent to the Cape, the Dutch were nearly if not quite the first nation in Europe. In 1648, while the shipwrecked seamen of the *Haarlem* were sowing seeds on the site of Capetown, the Peace of Westphalia was signed, putting an end for ever to the claims of Spain to be sovereign over the Netherlands. Independent in name, as they had long been in fact, Dutchmen went on from strength to strength, giving year by year new honour and wealth to the small, unattractive, lowlying corner of Europe, which they loved so dearly and served so well. To the sea they owed their salvation. They held their land as a fief from the ocean, ready, as they had already shown and were to show again, to give it back to the waste of waters rather than let it pay tribute to a foreign foe. Liberty, hardly won, brought empire in its train. The Netherlands had learnt to be free. They were learning each year to conquer and to annex. They had yet to learn, perhaps they never did fully learn, how to rule.

In the East, they broke up the Portuguese dominion with terrible thoroughness. They founded Batavia in 1619; and, while the trade of the East Indian archipelago was from first to last their main object, they took and held nearly all the Eastern strongholds of Portugal. Malacca fell into their

hands in 1640. Ceylon became wholly theirs by 1658; and in the last forty years of the seventeenth century the Portuguese were practically obliterated in the Eastern seas, and the sturdy Hollanders reigned in their stead.

One rival they had, like themselves a Protestant people, a sea-going and trading race, and of kindred Teuton blood; but the time of the English had hardly yet come. Dutch history had hitherto been more whole-hearted than English. The Dutchmen coveted no doubt the Eastern trade; but, if they had not coveted it, they would have been driven into it by political necessity—by the war with Spain. The Dutch had greatness thrust upon them, the English grew to it. The Dutch were perpetually confronted by a deadly and powerful enemy, and pressure from without held them together within. Their only road to safety was the road to empire. They depended on their ships; they could attack the Spaniards and Portuguese with effect only on the water; they could break the Spanish-Portuguese power only by cutting off the feeders of that power in East and West; and in doing so they acquired a colonial dominion. The English had no such prolonged struggle for national existence, and therefore did not rise so quickly to national greatness. They had leisure to fall out amongst themselves, and in the Stuarts they had rulers alien to and out of sympathy with the people and the time. The Civil Wars were useful as a period of training; but, while they lasted, England as a whole could not make herself felt abroad. With Cromwell there came a short interval of comparative union and strength, and in that interval commercial rivalry, embodied in the Navigation Acts, brought English and Dutch into conflict. But, if the English held their own in home waters, in the Indian seas, after the massacre of Amboyna in 1622-3, they lagged behind the Dutch; and even off the shores of England, in 1652, the year when the first European settlement was formed at the Cape, Van Tromp drove the British admiral Blake back

*The rise of
the Dutch
compared
with that
of the
English.*

ART I. into the Thames, and sailed the Channel in triumph with
 —♦— a broom at his masthead.

It fell then to the leading naval power of the day, to the European people which was strongest in the East, to control the fortunes of South Africa; and for a century and a half the Cape was a Dutch dependency.

*criticisms
Dutch
mis-
s in
Africa.*

Writers have been at pains to show how little progress was made during all these years in colonising South Africa, and have blamed the Dutch, or rather the Netherlands East India Company, for not having made more of their opportunities. It is easy, looking back upon the past, to call nations to account for their shortcomings. But a truer and a juster estimate is formed by appreciating what has been achieved than by criticising what has been badly done or left undone. Commenting on the fall of the Roman Empire in the West, Gibbon writes, 'Instead of enquiring why the Roman Empire was destroyed, we should rather be surprised that it had subsisted so long¹.' In like manner, instead of asking why the Dutch did not do more, we should rather wonder that they did so much. There are natural limits to the amount and to the kind of work which a nation can do in the world, and healthy nations instinctively recognise those limits. No healthier or sounder people than the Dutch ever played a part in history. None ever took their own measure more accurately, or showed more steadiness and self-control.

*reasons
of the
fact were
great
misers.*

The Dutchman's home is a very small land. Its area is little more than one-tenth of that of the British Isles. It is not highly favoured by nature. It is not placed in a central position, inviting the incoming and the outgoing of men. It is not well situated for commerce with the East; and Great Britain lies like a barrier between Holland and the New World. Even the sea has been less kind to the Dutch than

¹ Chap. 38, end—General observations on the fall of the Roman Empire in the West.

to the English, for from the Netherlands has been withheld the crowning gift of severance from the continent and continental strife.

CH. II.

In the days of their strength the Dutch did not number as many as the present population of London. They could move the world, but they could not colonise and people it. The Netherlands were thickly populated, but not overpopulated; and, if there were any surplus, they found their homes on the sea. Moreover, even if the country could have supplied emigrants, the motive for emigration was wanting. Emigrants leave their fatherland to better themselves, but the Dutchmen were conspicuously well off at home. There was no poverty among the Netherlands. There was little social or political uneasiness. They had no class in their midst of restless dissatisfied men, eager for change of scene and life. They had foreign wars, but not civil wars. Foreign wars bind men to their country and to each other, civil strife sends them to other lands.

In the seventeenth century many Englishmen went to America, some for conscience' sake, others for political reasons and the like. They went out, meaning not to come back again; purposing to found new Englands in the wilderness. When Dutchmen, on the contrary, sailed from Amsterdam or Flushing, they fully intended to come back, and to come back richer than they went. Their object was to trade—by force if necessary, to carry from place to place, to be always coming and going, but they knew one home only, their old home by the North Sea. So they went down to the sea in ships, and occupied their business in great waters; they fought, they carried, they bargained and grew rich; they formed trading stations, they acquired dependencies; their name was great in every land and on every ocean, but the world was not made Dutch.

The Dutch Republic was not one undivided community. *The*
It was a federation of communities. It consisted of the Seven *Nether-*
lands were

ART I. United Provinces. William the Silent, like George Washington, did not fight with a single people at his back. He had to hold together several states; and, like Washington, he held them together only by his personal influence, coupled with the ever-present sense of common danger. In the Conclusion to the 'United Netherlands,' Motley points out that 'the great misfortune of the Commonwealth of the United Provinces, next to the slenderness of its geographical proportions, was the fact that it was without a centre and without a head, and therefore not a nation capable of unlimited vitality. There were seven states. Each claimed to be sovereign¹.' And in an earlier passage, writing of the year 1590, he says, 'It cannot be denied that the inherent vice of the Netherland polity was already a tendency to decentralisation and provincialism².' At one time, in 1608, Zeeland, the second state in importance in the Union, threatened to secede³; and at no time was the republic free from the dangers which attend a confederacy. It was in truth not so much a country as a collection of towns. There was vigorous citizen life in the Netherlands, there was unbounded courage and enterprise, there was indomitable patriotism. But there was no perpetual widening of view from generation to generation, no gradual development into a different and higher class of power. At bottom the greatness of the Dutch was municipal rather than national. They reproduced and bettered the greatness of the Greek states, but they did not reach the level of the Romans.

This may have been their misfortune, but it was not their fault. Their numbers were too few, their land was too small. If ever a history was artificially made, in other words made by man more than by nature, that was the case with the Dutch. They may be counted, in a sense, as one of the peoples who, in the words of Aristotle, found salvation in

¹ United Netherlands, chap. liii.

² Ibid. chap. xxii.

³ Ibid. chap. li.

war¹. The United Netherlands were the outcome of the war with Spain. They were the product of stress of circumstances acting upon a very strong race. In defence of their lives, their liberties, and their religion, the Dutch made almost superhuman efforts, and were rewarded by greatness absurdly out of proportion to their population and the size of their land. That their greatness endured so long, that they are still so healthy and sound, that they still keep the Netherlands Indies, which were from the first their aim, is due to the fact that they knew their strength and used it, and also that they knew what they could not do and did not attempt it. The Carthaginians, whom in some respects the Dutch resembled, flourished as a commercial people, owning trading stations on the coasts of the Mediterranean and Atlantic. When in later days they tried to outbid Rome by building up a land dominion in Spain, their end soon came. The Dutch were too level-headed to make such a mistake². They began as traders, and traders they remained. In a word, they were the embodiment of common sense.

CH. II.

The Dutch and the Carthaginians compared.

Less state-ridden, as they were less priest-ridden, than the Spaniards or Portuguese, the nations of North Europe developed their foreign trade through the medium of Chartered Companies. The Dutch had two such Companies, one for the East, and another for the West. One was incorporated in 1602, the other in 1621. The earlier and greater of the two was the Netherlands East India Company, in which were merged all the existing companies in the Netherlands that traded with the East. The object of its incorporation was, in the words of the preamble to the charter, 'that the said companies should be united in a firm and certain union, and in such manner that all the subjects of the United

The Netherlands East India Company.

¹ Ἐσώζοντο μὲν πολεμοῦντες, Politics 2. 9. 34. Aristotle was reerring to the Spartans.

² The attempt to conquer Brazil from the Portuguese in the seventeenth century is perhaps an instance to the contrary, and there the Dutch failed.

30 HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE COLONIES.

PART I. Provinces may participate in the profits thereof.' In name

—♦—
It represented the Dutch nation in the East.

a private company, the East India Company was in its essence a national concern. It represented, or rather it embodied, the Dutch people in all their dealings in the Indies. It was empowered 'to enter into treaties with princes and potentates, and to contract, in the name of the United Netherlands and its government, . . . to build fortifications and to appoint governors, to establish garrisons, and create officers of justice, and erect other offices needful for preservation, for the maintenance of good order and the due administration of justice—provided however that these officers and those in the civil and military service shall take the oath of allegiance to the States-General¹.' This was no mere grant of a trade monopoly. It was formally delegating to a national association the charge of national interests in the East. The East India Companies of other peoples were not entrusted with such extensive powers, and consequently they were not in early days so strong. They were in fact, as in name, private companies, exposed to jealous rivalry at home as well as to foreign competition. The Dutch East India Company, on the contrary, was as wide as the Dutch nation. It was, in its origin at any rate, as inclusive towards Dutchmen as it was exclusive towards foreigners.

Constitution of the Netherlands East India Company.

As the commonwealth of the Netherlands was a federal commonwealth, so the Netherlands East India Company was a commercial federation. Four Chambers subscribed the capital—the Chamber of Amsterdam, the Chamber of Middleburg or Zeeland, the Chambers of the Meuse, in other words the cities of Delft and Rotterdam, and the Chambers

¹ From the 34th section of the charter as quoted on page 7 of Watermeyer's lectures on the Cape of Good Hope under the government of the Dutch East India Company (Capetown, 1857). The charter of the East India Company however did not contain such a clause as was inserted in the West India Company's charter, empowering the Company in so many words to *colonise* any fertile and uninhabited lands within the limits of the charter. [See Moodie's Record, Capetown, 1838, p. 190 note.]

of the North Quarter, namely Hoorn and Enkhuysen. Amsterdam contributed one-half of the capital, Zeeland a fourth, Delft and Rotterdam an eighth, and the North Quarter an eighth. The new Company paid a certain sum to the States-General for the privileges conferred upon them by the charter; and the amount thus paid the Government subscribed to the original capital, becoming to that extent partners in the undertaking. Every inhabitant of the United Provinces was originally at liberty to take up shares; and, as years went on, various cities and provinces, not at first mentioned, were specially represented in one or other of the Chambers. The general management was vested in a Federal Assembly, the Assembly or Chamber of Seventeen. This body was composed of eight representatives from the Amsterdam Chamber, four from that of Zeeland, two from the Chambers of the Meuse and the North Quarter respectively, while the seventeenth was selected in turn from three out of the four Chambers, Amsterdam being excluded.

CH. II
→→

Such was the constitution of this great company, faithfully reflecting the political organisation of the United Netherlands. All companies tend to rise or fall with the growth or the decline of the country in which they are domiciled; but the Netherlands East India Company was identified with the nation itself; its fortunes were one with the fortunes of the land which brought it into existence. It was empowered to fight, to conquer, and to rule, but always with a view to controlling the commerce of the East. Colonisation had no place in its programme. It cannot therefore be fairly blamed for not having been a colonising agency.

The sphere of the Company was from the Straits of Magellan on the east to the Cape of Good Hope on the west; and in 1652, as we have seen, possession was taken of the Cape—the point at which ships coming from Europe entered this Eastern hemisphere. To the Dutch Company and to the Dutch people the settlement at the Cape was

The Cape was within the sphere of the East India Company and was treated as an outpost

PART I. simply the westernmost outpost of the East Indies; it was, like all other Dutch possessions in the Eastern seas, subordinate to the Governor-General and Council of India, whose headquarters were at Batavia. It was not intended to be a South African colony; it was intended to minister to an East Indian trade¹.

Special difficulties of colonisation in South Africa. But, even if the Dutch had been a colonising people, even if the Netherlands East India Company had wished to form settlements, the colonisation of South Africa must in any case have been the work of many long years. In North America Dutch settlers spread inland along the banks of the Hudson. In Guiana Dutch planters were attracted to a low-lying seaboard with alluvial soil, a second Netherlands in the tropics. But at the Cape there were no river highways into the continent, there was no rich foreshore. There was a mountainous peninsula with a bay beside it, suited for a station for passing ships, but giving no clue to the interior. A long broken line of accessible shores; navigable rivers, flowing down with full volume and easy gradients to the sea; nearness to places which or peoples who have outward signs of wealth; discovery of gold, silver, or precious stones—these are the natural advantages which attract colonists, and make them exchange new homes for old. South Africa had

¹ It was not the Dutch only who looked upon the Cape as purely subservient to the East. The conclusion of Barrow's two volumes of *Travels in Southern Africa*, published in 1801-4, is as follows: 'Having thus endeavoured to state the different points of view in which the Cape of Good Hope may be considered of importance to the British nation, from materials faithfully collected and of unquestionable authority, the result of the whole will, I think, bear me out in this conclusion. That as a naval and military station, connected with the protection and the defence of our trade and possessions in India, the advantages of the Cape are invaluable; that the policy, if practicable, of making it the seat of a free and unrestrained commerce is doubtful, even in the hands of England; that it holds out considerable facilities for the encouragement and extension of the Southern Whale Fishery; but that, as a mere territorial possession, it is not in its present state and probably never could become by any regulations a colony worthy of the consideration either of Great Britain or of any other power.'


none of them to offer. Sailors scanned its coasts in vain for easy bays and estuaries; no great river carried the trader up towards its source, or bade the farmer till the lands which it watered. No thriving centres of native industry were near at hand: and behind the mountains, which barred progress inland, and which, cutting off district from district, forbade a continuous line of settlement, the diamonds of Griqualand and the gold of the Transvaal were for two centuries unknown.

CH. II.

Colonisation, as opposed to conquest, the settlement of white men in a savage land, is, unless the unforeseen occurs, in its early stages a very slow process. Many years elapse before the immigrants become planted in the new soil; and it is not until they have taken root that they begin to multiply to any appreciable extent, and to deserve the name of a people. The record of the first fifty years in the history of a colony usually and necessarily shows much smaller outward results than the second half-century. The earlier years are a time of training, of acclimatising, of learning much and perhaps unlearning more. Hardships must be encountered, disappointments must be borne, home ties must become weaker and local interests stronger, before the colony can have vigorous life within itself, and begin to draw men unto it. Colonisation consists in parting from a centre and in time forming a new centre; but there must be an interval, often of many years, before the new centre is fully formed. When the Dutch first occupied the Cape, the Netherlands had nearly, if not quite, reached the summit of their power; and by the time when the settlement had grown out of infancy, the strength of the mother-country was stationary, if not beginning to decline. Had South Africa been settled fifty years earlier, it is conceivable that its fortunes as a Dutch colony would have been greater. Its years of childhood would have coincided with the rise of the Netherlands, and in its adult stage its growth might have been aided and

The Cape was colonised by the Dutch too late in their history.

34 *HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE COLONIES.*

PART I.  sustained by a still growing mother-land. As it was, when the natural time for expansion came at the Cape, the Netherlands were already, so to speak, advanced in years. The strain of perpetual wars had told on the Dutch nation. It was all that and more than they could do to hold their own. Hence, even if the numbers of the Dutchmen had been greater than they were, even if their policy had been other than it was, they came too late in their history to South Africa to make it a New Netherlands.

If then the question is asked, Why was the Dutch colonisation of South Africa so limited and incomplete? the answer is that the Dutch never intended to people the Cape, and that, if they had had any such intention, they could not have carried it out. Yet not a little was done, and what was done has stood the test of time. The strong Dutch race, their simple Puritan religion, their language, their laws, and their customs, all took firm root in this land of the South. The seed was sown in stony ground, and sown with a sparing hand, but after many days and under new conditions it brought forth abundantly. The Cape has passed out of the keeping of the Netherlands, but the Dutch race has been fruitful and multiplied in South Africa.

The story of the Cape under the rule of the Netherlands East India Company is quiet and uneventful. It is the story of a very small community in a remote corner of the world, living away from the main stream of history. It contains no picturesque incidents of fighting for life and liberty, no record of heroic defence against European invaders or savage hordes. Foreign nations did not covet this little Dutch dependency, and left it alone; and both settlers and Hottentots were too weak to organise war against each other on any considerable scale. All the dramatic episodes in South African history were reserved for the present century. While the Dutch occupation lasted, native troubles were mainly confined to looting and reprisals, and the

squabbles between rulers and ruled hardly rose to the level of civil war. CH. II.

Van Riebeeck, the leader of the colonists, or rather the commander of the garrison, was a man of wide experience. He had been ten years in the company's service. He had served in the East Indies. He had visited the island of Formosa in the China seas. He had been west to the Caribbean islands; and north to Greenland, where he had picked up knowledge of whale and seal fishing, likely to be of use in Table Bay. He had considerable force of character and a keen eye to the promotion of his employers' interests, upon which he was well aware that his own promotion depended. The instructions given to him were plain and simple. No high-sounding proclamation was to be issued, declaring the States-General to be sovereign over South Africa. A fort was to be built, according to an approved plan, large enough to hold seventy to eighty persons; sufficient ground was to be appropriated for purposes of gardening and pasturage; but no offence was to be given to the natives, and, if any European nation, other than the Portuguese, wished to form a settlement which did not interfere with the company, the company's representatives were not to interfere with them. In short, the object of the enterprise was simply and solely to ensure that Dutch ships should not be excluded from Table Bay, and that the Cape should in future be used as a place of call instead of St. Helena. That island was soon afterwards abandoned by the Dutch, and passed into the hands of the English.

Van
Riebeeck.

His in-
struction
with
regard to
building
a fort at
Table Bay

St. Helena
abandoned
by the
Dutch.

The original band of settlers numbered rather over a hundred. Among them were one or more gardeners and probably some artisans; but the majority were soldiers and sailors, who came out to do duty for a while at the Cape, with the prospect of being moved in due course elsewhere. Only a few, including the commander, brought their families with them, and they did not do so with the intention of

The
garrison at
Table Bay.

PART I. making their home in South Africa. Before he sailed, Van Riebeeck gave the directors to understand that he hoped soon to be sent on to India, and, when he had been at the Cape only one year, he begged that his abilities might not be thrown away upon the 'dull, stupid, lazy, stinking' natives of South Africa, but might find a more suitable sphere among the quick-witted East Indians. As a matter of fact, he was kept at the Cape for ten years, being subsequently placed in charge of the important settlement of Malacca¹. In the following century one of his sons, who had been born at the Cape, rose to be Governor-general of the Netherlands Indies.

Fort Good Hope.

Meanwhile he carried out his orders to the letter. A rude square fort was slowly built, and named Good Hope. A garden was laid out, which was in after years to become the great attraction of Capetown, and vegetables were grown to supply the garrison and passing ships. Sickness and winter weather retarded the work. For many weeks no supplies were procured from the natives beyond one lean cow and calf; but gradually the first trials and difficulties were surmounted, and Dutch settlement in South Africa became an accomplished fact. In the midst of tribulation an Africander was born into the world, for we read in Van Riebeeck's journal, that, on June 5, 1652, exactly two months after the arrival of the settlers, the chaplain's wife was delivered of the first child born within the Fort Good Hope.

Views of the Dutch East India Company.

Thus a Dutch company established a station at Table Bay. Intended to serve the trade of the East, the station was at the same time to be made, if possible, self-supporting

¹ Time has wrought considerable change in the value as in the ownership of European dependencies. Both the Cape and Malacca are now dependencies of Great Britain; and while Malacca, which is merged in the Straits Settlements, has entirely lost its importance, the appointment of Governor of the Cape of Good Hope and High Commissioner for South Africa is one of the highest posts in the English colonial service.

and not to be a drain on the company's resources. The way to make it self-supporting was to encourage trade with the natives, and to promote settlement and cultivation of the ground. But, if freedom were given to the settlers, if they were allowed to go where they would, to live where and as they liked, and to deal with whom they pleased, native wars and possibly collisions with other European nations might arise; and, if the station developed into a colony, the control of the company might be weakened, and the interests of a New Netherlands in South Africa might conflict with the interests of the Netherlands Indies. How far the dependency could be strengthened, without making it too strong; how far it could be allowed to grow, without losing its original character; how far liabilities could be converted into assets, without incurring fresh and unlimited liabilities: these were the problems which faced the Netherlands East India Company.

At the beginning, Fort Good Hope was not unlike a Hudson's Bay factory in a kindlier climate than that of the Arctic regions. It was a *depôt*, unvisited for many months by the company's ships, the inmates of which were busy in keeping life together, waiting for the natives to come and trade. When some two or three years had passed, and more was known of the place and people, a proposal was made to cut a canal across the isthmus between Table Bay and False Bay, and thus convert the Cape promontory into an island. Had such a project been feasible, the limits of the settlement would have been clearly defined; and, while a large amount of useful land would have been placed in undisputed occupation of the Dutch, the tendency for good or evil would have been to concentrate the settlers, to emphasise the object for which the fort had been originally founded, to appropriate the Cape to the Europeans and leave South Africa to the natives. But a canal was soon found to be impracticable, and even a chain of redoubts, which was suggested in its

Fort Good Hope was originally not unlike a Hudson's Bay factory.

PART I. stead, was for reasons of economy never fully carried out.

—♦—
*The Native
 Races of
 South
 Africa.* Thus in course of years a certain amount of expansion took place, resulting in something more than a trading station ; but, as long as the company's rule lasted, something less than a colony.

*The
 Bantus or
 Kaffirs.* There are three native races in South Africa, the Bantus, the Hottentots, and the Bushmen. The many tribes of the great Bantu family have a wide range, extending from beyond the Equator to the south-eastern shores of the Cape Colony. Their history really belongs to the present century. The southern offshoots of their stock, commonly known as Kaffirs, the Zulus and Matabele, the Bechuanas and Basutos, the Pondos, the Tembus and others, are all now familiar to Europeans ; but in the seventeenth century and in southernmost Africa they had not crossed the white man's path. They were moving down from the north and east, while Dutchmen were slowly coming in from the south, and the meeting and conflict of races was not to be for many long years. From the sailors of coasting ships and from rescued castaways some knowledge was gleaned of the outskirts of Kaffirland and the manners and language of the tribes by the sea, but it was left to our own times to gauge the full strength of the strongest natives in South Africa.

*The
 Bushmen.* The sphere of the Hottentots was and is the south-west corner of Africa, including the Cape peninsula. Between and among the Hottentots and the Kaffirs, mainly in the desert regions, roamed the Bushmen, a diminutive aboriginal race, supposed to be allied in origin to the Hottentots. They were the outcasts of South Africa, untameable savages, dwelling in holes and corners of the land. They lived by hunting and plunder. Their hand was against every man, and every man's hand was against them. Hottentots and Kaffirs alike killed them out when they came within their reach, and in the eyes of the white men they were mischievous vermin that literally poisoned the soil.

It was with the Hottentots that the Dutch had to deal. CH. II.
 They were, it would seem, higher up in the scale of humanity [→]
 than the natives whom English settlers found in after years *The*
 in Australia. On the other hand they were distinctly below *Hottentots.*
 the level of the North American Indians. They were divided
 into various clans. At one end of the scale were com-
 paratively strong tribes like the Namaquas, at the other were
 beggarly specimens of mankind like the starving Beach-
 rangers, who hung about the Dutchmen's fort. Taken as
 a whole they were a pastoral nomad race, moving, according
 to the season, from pasture to pasture, knowing little or
 nothing of agriculture, but living on the produce of their
 flocks and herds, supplemented by the game which they killed,
 and whatever the soil yielded of its own free will. In South
 Africa, as in other parts of the world, the character and the *The*
 mode of life of the incoming colonists were largely influenced *character*
 by the character and mode of life of the natives into whose *of the*
 land they came. The Hottentots were not good fighters, *Dutch*
 and were not good workers. They were a desultory race, *colonists*
 with little capacity except for loafing and for minding cattle. *suffered*
 The English settlers in North America were braced and *from their*
 strengthened by their surroundings. They were perpetually *being*
 confronted with warlike foes, bold, irreconcilable, capable of *brought*
 organisation, possessing some political insight, men who must *into contact*
 either conquer or be conquered. There could be nothing in *with the*
 common between the Englishman and the North American *Hottentots.*
 Indian ; there was no real meeting-ground between the races.
 They had to live outside each other, and, in a sense, they kept
 each other up to the mark. The result was that the stronger
 race grew stronger and eventually crushed out the weaker
 race. There was no gradual assimilation of the two races to
 each other, involving deterioration on either side. Widely *The*
 different was the case of the Dutch and Hottentots in South *Hottentots*
 Africa. There were from time to time border forays, lifting *were not a*
 of cattle, murders and reprisals, but there was no real war *warlike*
 race.

PART I.



because there was no real fighting spirit in the natives. If, when the Dutchmen landed, Kaffirs had been on the spot instead of Hottentots, the chronicles of the Dutch at the Cape would have told either very much smaller or very much greater results. Possibly the Europeans would have been kept cooped up in their fort or even driven out altogether. If not, in fighting for their lives in Africa, as in fighting for their lives at home, the Hollanders would have put out their strength and grown great with the greatness of their need. Then, we may imagine, at first sympathy with friends in deadly danger, afterwards desire to share in good things to come, might have brought fresh adventurers from Europe. They would have come in to make new homes and to defend them, to win a land not for a company but for themselves, to take and to keep a growing area, not by haggling and barter with shiftless nomads, but by the clearly defined right of the sword.

*Nor a
working
race.*

*They were
neither
bond nor
free.*

But the Hottentots were not men of war. Nor were they, on the other hand, in any true sense men of peace. They were not labourers, not tillers of the ground. They belonged to a lower grade of human beings, incapable of systematic effort, living from hand to mouth and from day to day. Had they been as the negroes, they might have been trained to work, and, losing their freedom, have gained instead some measure of usefulness. As it was, they were in many cases virtually enslaved; but the servitude was with little profit to their masters or to themselves, and slaves were imported from other lands to supply the labour market. Brought into contact with such a race, the Dutch settlers of necessity deteriorated in course of time. They acquired the vices of slave owners, but, as far as the natives of the country were concerned, they made little out of their slaves. They tended to become the sluggish masters of sluggish servants, living somewhat aimless lives. In the New World a social system was built up on the basis of negro slavery, unsound, it is true,

from every point of view, but still great in a sense while it lasted, and very far from being unproductive or useless. In South Africa the slave system was never so fully developed, and one reason was that there were black men already on the spot, who were dependents but not workers, who were for practical purposes neither bond nor free. They formed an intermediate element; they were not strong enough to make the Cape Colony a home of free men alone, whether white or black, but they were perpetually in evidence to suggest a half-hearted mode of life, in which there should be servitude without work and slave owning without profit. If the Hottentots served the Dutchmen, they served them in their own spasmodic way; if the Dutchmen ruled the Hottentots, they ruled them in native rather than in European fashion. 'Every family centering, as it were, within itself approaches in time and in proportion as they are at a greater distance from the Cape to the simplicity of nature . . . the farthest settlers, who reside thirty or forty days' journey from Capetown, more resemble Hottentots than the posterity of Europeans.' Such is a Dutch account of the outlying farmers in the Cape Colony towards the end of the eighteenth century¹. It was an inevitable result, due to various causes, not the least of which was the kind of natives among whom the Dutchmen's lot was cast.

It has been said that Fort Good Hope in its earliest days was not unlike a Hudson's Bay factory. Similarly the descriptions given of the Hottentots in Van Riebeeck's diary and despatches rather suggest a dishonest and unfriendly kind of Esquimaux. These South African savages bartered with the white men, and were cunning in barter. Brass, copper, and tobacco they wanted in exchange for their cattle, and they knew the difference between good and bad tobacco. They maintained to the full their old reputation for stealing. They stole tobacco, and one of their clans was christened

*The
dealings
between the
Dutchmen
and the
Hottentots.*

¹ From Admiral Stavorinus' *Voyages to the East Indies* (Eng. Tr. 1798), vol. iii. p. 444.

PART I. by the Dutch the Tobacco thieves. They ran off with the sailors' clothes drying on the shore. They took the iron chain from the plough lying for repairs before the blacksmith's shop. They laid hold of the children in order to tear the brass buttons from their clothes; and the commander found it necessary to issue more than one proclamation warning the workmen to keep a watchful eye over their arms and their picks and shovels. His patience was sorely tried; but his instructions were to keep on good terms with the natives, and those instructions he faithfully observed. Not merely was ill-treatment of the black men prohibited under severe penalties, but no traffic or intercourse whatever between the two races was, as a rule, allowed except on behalf of the company and through the medium of the authorised representatives of the company. Thus it was hoped at once to prevent any quarrels between settlers and natives, and to safeguard the company's monopoly of trade.

*The
Hottentots
resent the
permanent
occupation
of their
land by
Europeans.*

The main difficulty arose when the Hottentots realised that the Europeans were permanently occupying the Cape peninsula and taking up land for cultivation. It meant to them the loss of so much pasturage. Where they had brought their herds from time to time in former years, they would be able to bring them no longer. Savages as they were, they resented the appropriation of their lands by an alien race. 'They dwelt long,' says Van Riebeeck in his journal for April, 1660, 'upon our taking every day for our own use more of the land which had belonged to them from all ages . . . they also asked whether, if they were to come into Holland, they would be permitted to act in a similar manner¹.' It was an awkward question—one to which no answer could or can be given, except the answer, which natives know well, that might is right and the fittest must survive. If outside

¹ See The Record, or a Series of Official Papers Relative to the Condition and treatment of the Native Tribes of South Africa, by Lieut. D. Moodie, Capetown, 1838, pt. 1. p. 205.

Europe the coloured men's title to the lands of their birth had been held good, there would have been no history of European colonisation. CH. II. —

The conference, at which the Hottentots thus pleaded their rights, followed on what was called the war of 1659. It was no war. One white man only and two or three black men were killed, and some of the settlers' cattle were carried off. The disturbance, however, was sufficiently marked to give the Dutch commander an excuse for claiming that the land which his countrymen occupied had now been 'justly won by the sword in defensive warfare'. On the other hand his superiors both at Amsterdam and at Batavia were fair-minded enough to recognise that the natives had ground for complaint, and some years afterwards, in 1672, the form was gone through of buying the Cape peninsula from the Hottentots. Two agreements were signed with Hottentot chiefs, grandiloquently styled hereditary sovereigns of the Cape district and Hottentots Holland respectively, by which the Dutch became recognised owners of the south-west corner of South Africa from Saldanha Bay to False Bay. The documents were most explicit and business-like, containing an acknowledgement by the native vendors that they had received the stipulated price. Unfortunately belief in the good faith of the transaction is shaken by reading the despatch in which the governor reports that the goods delivered to the chiefs, in either case, only represented an infinitesimal fraction of the sum named in the document. It was an illustration of the trading instincts of the Dutch. They evidently did not feel comfortable in South Africa without a receipted bill. They were averse to taking and holding land by force, but they could not resist the opportunity of a little sharp practice in the way of business. At the same time it must be admitted that on the whole they

The 'war' of 1659.

The Cape bought from the Hottentots by the Dutch.

¹ See Moodie's Record, as above, pt. I. p. 205.

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PART I. treated the natives in these early days with humanity and forbearance. Perhaps it would have been better in the end if their dealings had been stronger and more high-handed, if open war and well-defined conquest had taken the place of a long series of desultory and irritating encroachments.

*Relations
of the
Dutch in
South
Africa
to other
European
nations.*

By these deeds of sale the Hottentot chiefs were bound over to 'endeavour to drive away and expel by force of arms any foreign European power which may, in the course of time, try to settle' in the ceded districts. As a matter of fact, until in 1780 the United Provinces were dragged into the vortex of the war between England and France, no foreign power interfered with the Dutch at the Cape. Their nearest European neighbours were the Portuguese in Angola and Mozambique, the English at St. Helena, and the French in Madagascar and at the island of Bourbon. The Portuguese were a broken people before ever the Dutch fort at the Cape was founded, and the French and English were the only powers who might have been dangerous to the Netherlands East India Company. Fortunately war with the one usually meant peace with the other. Of the two, the French at first showed more signs of contemplating a settlement in South Africa. French sealers were, the Dutch found on arrival, in the habit of frequenting Saldanha Bay, and twice, in 1666 and in 1670, on the latter occasion by force of arms, marks of French sovereignty were set up at the same place. During these years Louis XIV had Colbert for his minister, and Colbert for the time regenerated the French East India Company. But he died, the company died too, and nothing came of these French demonstrations on the coast of South Africa.

*To the
French.*

*To the
English.*

The first two years of the Cape Colony were years of war between the English and the Dutch, brought on by Cromwell's Navigation Act. Fighting began in the latter part of

¹ See Moodie's Record, pt. 1. p. 318.

1652, and lasted till 1654. There was a second war in Charles II's time, in the years 1665-7, and a third during the same reign, from 1672 to 1674. This last war was the most dangerous to Holland, for the English and French combined against her in an unnatural league. It was the doing of the English king and his ministers, not of the English people; and in 1674 the English withdrew from it, and made peace with their old allies—the peace of Westminster. Not long afterwards the Stuarts, with their French sympathies, were driven from England, and the Dutchman who had defended his country against France, as his great grandfather William the Silent had held it against Spain, was called as William III to the English throne. Thenceforward there was peace between Great Britain and the Netherlands for a hundred years.

CH. II.

These wars did not seriously affect the Cape colonists. They caused of course anxiety and alarm. They led to the building of a castle, more defensible against European foes than was Van Riebeeck's fort; and they diminished for the time being the number of merchant vessels which called at Table Bay. But there was no substantial gain or loss, no attack or defence colouring the story and shaping the future fortunes of the colony. News travelled slowly in old days, and ships in distant waters and colonists in distant lands often did not know whether there was war or peace in Europe. Sometimes the settlers were better informed than their foreign visitors. We read, for instance, of an English ship in 1665, and two French ships in 1689, putting into Table Bay as a friendly port and being attacked by the garrison, unsuccessfully in the first case, successfully in the second. Moreover, in outlying nooks of the world war or peace depended very much on the people on the spot, and it did not at all follow that the relations between two European peoples were at a given time one and the same in all quarters of the globe. Still the Cape lay on or near

The Dutch settlement at Table Bay was not molested by other European nations.

PART I. a well-known trade route; and, as far as distance allowed, it was kept in close contact with Europe, with European politics, and with European interests in the East. It seems, therefore, at first sight strange that the Dutch in South Africa

Reasons for its immunity from attack. were hardly ever touched by the fringe of war. The reason was twofold. In the first place the settlement was so small as not to be worth powder and shot. Foreign nations had

1. *It was not dangerous to other peoples.* no reason to fear it and little reason for wishing to possess it. They were glad that their ships should be able now and again to put into Table Bay, but this could be done as long as there was peace with the Netherlands. The English had

Cautious treatment of foreigners at the Cape. St. Helena. The French looked to Madagascar. It was not worth while to try to dislodge the Dutch at Fort Good Hope, when the existence of the settlement was not only

not a danger but a positive convenience. Give offence to no one, whether Europeans or natives, such were in effect the instructions of the Chamber of Seventeen to their Commanders at the Cape. Be courteous, but not too courteous. Give as little as you can, take as much as you can, but above all do not involve us in the expense of war. The appointment of Commander at the Cape was no bed of roses. He had to make bricks without straw. He had to conciliate without conceding. Far removed from support, he was expected on all occasions to find the golden mean between aggression and subservience, to know instinctively the exact line of conduct which would pay the best. The ordinary rule with regard to foreign ships at the Cape was to allow the crews to take in fresh water, to catch fish, and to buy vegetables and poultry from the settlers, but to prohibit the purchase of cattle, and to give or sell nothing from the company's stores. On one occasion, at the end of 1666, a French fleet, which visited Table Bay, was treated with unusual hospitality, being refitted and provisioned from the company's stores. The commander of the garrison, Van Quaelberg, even went so far as to visit the French admiral

on board his own ship, and to lodge some of the Frenchmen within the walls of the fort. This was too much for the directors at Amsterdam, and the unfortunate commander was at once dismissed. 'That you may know,' they wrote in 1667 to his successor and his council, 'how to conduct yourselves in future upon the arrival of Europeans, we have now to direct you not to refuse them water; but as to refreshments, to give them as little as may be in any way possible, giving them in particular no provisions, ships' stores, or the like, but declining all under the plea of your own wants and of necessity, and thus allowing them, as we have often directed, to drift upon their own fins¹.'

Churlish, however, and parsimonious as the Dutch were to their visitors, they hardly treated them worse than they were treated themselves in foreign parts; and it was obvious then, as it is obvious now, that, if the company wished to ensure being always able to provision their own ships, they could not afford to be open-handed to foreigners.

But there was a second reason, akin to the first, for the immunity from invasion which the Cape colonists enjoyed. Of the two nations who were possible invaders, the French were as a rule not strong enough on the sea, and too much involved in European wars, to attack colonial settlements, unless such settlements were near to possessions of their own, and their capture formed part of a larger scheme of

¹ Moodie, pt. 1. p. 299. Van Quaelberg, who was on this occasion dismissed for being too hospitable to the French, was subsequently re-employed in the East by the Netherlands Company. An amusing instance of Dutch hospitality at the Cape will be found in Moodie's Record, p. 90, note. In 1656 some English ships arrived at Table Bay, and Van Riebeeck's diary was as follows: 'The Commander invited the English captains to dinner, and presented each with half an ox (which had been killed in consequence of some weakness) in return for a cask of beer and a keg of distilled waters . . . A young ox which seemed likely to die was killed and given to the English captain (who knew not what ailed it) for his sick, it was the same case with the other ox and the sheep; not that they were unwholesome, but it was necessary to kill them; but to save our character, and as it were to act the braggart, they were bestowed upon them by way of liberality.'

2. The French were hardly in a position to attack the Cape, and the English, being the

PART I. annexation. Further, when the time came for the French to strike hard for a colonial empire, they found that the English stood in their way much more than the Netherlands. They looked to the eastern and western continents more than to the eastern and western islands; and their sphere of actual or prospective conquest and colonisation was in the main outside the sphere of the Dutch.

—♦—
*English
 East India
 Company,
 did not find
 it to their
 interest to
 do so.*

It was the English whom the Dutch had to fear. They were the foreigners, if any, who would take the Cape. Not only, however, were the two peoples as a rule in friendship with each other; not only had they by the peace of Breda in 1667, as confirmed by the later peace of Westminster, carefully provided for international courtesy in each other's ports; but, as far as the Cape was concerned, it was a case of dealings between two companies rather than between two nations. Neither company probably wanted in ordinary times to incur the expense of occupying both St. Helena and the Cape. The two stations were alternative; and, after the Dutch had occupied the latter, they gave up the former, which sufficed for the English. Rival trading companies are at least as jealous of each other as are rival nations; but their standard is one of pounds, shillings, and pence. War to a syndicate of traders always means expenditure and sometimes means ruin; companies therefore are loth to make war; and, when they make it, they localise it as much as possible. They fight either in self-defence, or because there is some definite object to be readily secured, promising an immediate profit with little future liability. The English company for many long years was not as strong as the Dutch; and even if they had been as strong, or stronger, they had little to gain by attacking the Cape. There was no South African trade to fight for. There was nothing to excite cupidity. The settlement did not pay its way, and was maintained only for the sake of the Netherlands Indies. If it had been taken by the English and kept,

they, instead of the Dutch, would have borne the cost of maintenance, and their ships would have reaped but slight advantage from touching at an English instead of a friendly port. If it had been taken, destroyed, and left desolate, the destroyers, in common with all traders to the East, would have felt the want of an European station at Table Bay. In either case necessity, as well as sense of injury, would have driven the Dutch into reprisals, for the safety of the Netherlands Indies depended upon their holding some position in or near South Africa. The only possible motives for an English attack on the Cape were either temporarily to cripple the power of the Netherlanders, or to prevent the station from falling into the hands of a third and unfriendly power. The first motive could only be gratified at the expense of a world-wide war. The second motive did not operate as long as the Dutch were strong, though ultimately it decided the fate of the Cape Colony.

CH. II.

So the Dutch went their way in peace at the Cape, unmolested by Europeans, not seriously threatened by natives. No real danger came to them from either sea or land. Their security was not all gain. The manhood of the colony was to some extent stunted from want of that training in infancy, which comes from enduring and attempting much. The settlers needed troubles, such as those in which their own native Netherlands were cradled, to bid them burst their leading strings, to stimulate individual energy, and to quicken the sense of common life. But their difficulties were not definite enough to become opportunities, their trials were too few to foster public spirit. The Cape Colony remained a comparatively unimportant settlement, under the rule of a money-loving company, not intended to be great, not forced into greatness by pressure from outside.

The security of the Dutch at the Cape was not wholly favourable to the colony.

The island of St. Helena has always been, and still is, *St. Helena*, closely connected with the Cape. Both the one and the other were in the hands of East India companies, and both

PART I. were occupied for the same reason, the convenience of the Eastern trade. First the one and then the other belonged to the Dutch, and now both are included in the British Empire. For a short time after Fort Good Hope was founded, the Dutch do not appear to have given up all claims to St. Helena¹, but the island was in full possession of the English some years before Great Britain and the Netherlands went to war in 1664. Taken again by the Dutch in 1665, it was in the same year recovered by the English, and was in their hands when the next war broke out in 1672. The Netherlands then once more determined to attack the island, and Table Bay was selected as the base of operations. Four ships, carrying 600 men, sailed from the bay in December, 1672, and in the following month drove the English garrison out of St. Helena. The Dutch held the island, however, only till the month of May, when they were in turn surprised by an English fleet and forced to surrender². From that date onward St. Helena remained an undisputed British possession. This was almost the only occasion on which the Cape played any part in the earlier wars of the

¹ For instance, we find the Governor-general of Batavia writing to Van Riebeeck on the 25th of December, 1655: 'Your proposal to strip the island of St. Helena of everything now on it, and to lay it entirely waste, is somewhat opposed to our ideas, as this would be quite as inconvenient for ourselves as it could be for the English and French. For whenever any homeward-bound ships may be driven past the Cape by bad weather, where should they look for refreshments? and where also could the fleet, if once separated, be collected so conveniently as at St. Helena? Again, supposing the English should find no refreshment there, they would have a plea and an inducement to touch at the Cape, where they would always plague us for one thing or other, and, being our friends and allies, could not be entirely refused. . . . We are therefore of opinion, that we should allow the island of St. Helena to remain in esse, so that we may resort to it in case of need' (Moodie, pt. i. p. 80 note). This passage illustrates what has been said above, as to the advantages of these stations on the Eastern route to other peoples than their owners. The Dutch had a reputation for injuring places which they visited in the course of their voyages. See above, p. 15, and see also vol. iii. of this work, p. 253 note. When they gave up Mauritius they destroyed everything they could.

² See vol. iii. of this work, pp. 255-6.

mother-country, and in this instance it comes before us not as a beleaguered settlement, struggling for existence, but as a starting-point for attack upon another little dependency. Fortunately for all concerned, the enterprise was a failure. Had the English lost St. Helena, they would have bid very high to be masters of the Cape.

CH. II.



Further from the Cape on the east than St. Helena is on *Mauritius*. the west lies an island in the Indian Ocean, whose fortunes in early days of European colonisation were closely allied to those of South Africa. Its old Dutch name of Mauritius, which has outlived the later title of Isle of France, dates from the year 1598, when a Dutch fleet first visited and claimed the island; but it was not until about the year 1640 that the claim was made good by some kind of occupation. The station, such as it was, was withdrawn shortly after the Cape settlement was founded, but in the year 1664 it was revived and strengthened. The French at the time were taking steps to colonise the neighbouring island of Bourbon, and the directors of the Netherlands East India Company had reason to fear that they might take Mauritius also. 'We must not allow other nations,' they wrote, 'to anticipate us there¹,' and a small garrison was accordingly sent to resume possession. On the shores of the south-east port, now Grand Port, a little fort was built, named Frederic Henry.

¹ Moodie, p. 282. The note to that page says: 'The company ordered Mauritius to be abandoned Dec. 26, 1657, to be re-occupied August 24, 1663; and to be again abandoned July 23, 1716.' It is very difficult to find out what were the exact dates in connexion with the Dutch occupation of Mauritius. Capt. Oliver, in his edition of François Leguat (*Hakluyt Soc.* 1891, vol. ii. p. 148 note), gives 1639 as the date of the first occupation, adding that the station was abandoned in 1650, re-established in the same year till 1654, then abandoned for five years, and at the end of that time again re-established. D'Unienville's *Statistique de l'Isle Maurice* and other books give 1644 as the date at which a regular Dutch settlement was formed in the island, but the list of Dutch governors begins in 1638 (see vol. i. of this work, p. 144 note). It is clear from the Cape records that the island was re-occupied in 1664, and 1710 or 1712 seems to have been the date of its final abandonment by the Dutch.

PART I. A still smaller outpost was maintained at the north-west harbour, where the town of Port Louis now stands. At Flacq, towards the eastern coast, the company had a garden; and a few settlers were to be found in the south-west, in the valley of the Black River. At the end of the seventeenth century the garrison consisted of some fifty men, and there were thirty to forty Dutch families scattered through the island¹. The interior was covered with forests, which sheltered runaway slaves, and ebony wood was almost the only article of export. In later times, as a French possession and under the fostering care of Labourdonnais, Mauritius became a flourishing and important colony, but under the Dutch it never thrived. They occupied it merely to forestall other possible occupants, they turned its fine harbours to little or no account, and in or about 1710 the settlement was broken up, and the garrison was withdrawn after destroying everything that could not be carried away. During the whole period of Dutch occupation, with a very short interval, the island was subordinate to the Cape, and appeals from the Mauritius Court of Justice were heard in South Africa. Once a year a ship left Table Bay for Grand Port carrying provisions, and returned with a cargo of timber; and the island was looked upon as a convenient place of banishment for inconvenient settlers who had given trouble at the Cape, as well as for convicts from Batavia. It was the little dependency of a little dependency, and its record while attached to the Cape tells the same story as the chronicles of the Cape itself, that colonisation was not the mission of the Dutch people, nor the object of the Netherlands East India Company.

*System of
adminis-
tration*

As Mauritius was subordinate to the Cape, so the Cape, together with all the Dutch dependencies in the Eastern half

¹ See Capt. Oliver's edition of François Leguat, vol. ii. p. 195. Leguat was kept at Mauritius as a prisoner for three years from 1693 to 1696. For an account of Mauritius, see vol. i. of this work, sec. 3, and see also the first two volumes of Mr. Theal's History of South Africa.

of the world, was subordinate to Batavia. The British CH. II.
 Empire at the present day comprises self-governing colonies, Crown colonies, and colonies which stand half-way between the one class and the other. The Crown colonies are all under the direct control of the Colonial Office in London, and their governors take instructions from the Secretary of State for the Colonies alone. But each colony is distinct and separate from the others, and has a distinct and separate local administration. The Governor of a Crown colony is in nearly all cases advised by an Executive Council, consisting of the principal officers of his government; and in most Crown colonies there is a Legislative Council, some members of which are unofficial residents, not elected by the people but nominated by the Crown. In a few instances the local legislative power is vested in the Governor alone, who legislates either in the form of ordinances or by means of proclamations. The Dutch dependencies in South Africa and the East were the very opposite of self-governing colonies. They did not even reach the level of Crown colonies. They were not indeed colonies at all. They were the depôts or the stations of a trading company, and were looked upon and treated as such. For administrative purposes, they were regarded as one whole rather than as a series of separate communities. The company had a certain number of ships and a certain number of men widely scattered through the Eastern hemisphere. All the officers on the ships and all the officers at the stations formed a single body of men carrying out one uniform system¹. Of necessity, as years went on, local circumstances made themselves felt. For instance, in the earlier years of the Cape settlement, the officer in charge was called Commander, unless he happened to be of specially high rank in the company's service, in which case he was styled Governor; at a later date, when

CH. II.
 followed
 by the
 Netherlands East
 India
 Company.

¹ This is well pointed out in the first volume of Mr. Theal's History of South Africa, p. 44.

PART I. the settlement became more important, the title attached to the place rather than to the man, and the appointment of chief officer at the Cape was what would now be called a colonial government. But the tendency of the company was to treat places as items in a trading concern, not as homes of human beings. The directors and their officers were not devoid of the instincts of justice and humanity, but governing for the sake of the governed was not part of their business and hardly entered into their calculations. It was their policy to centralise, to group the Eastern world, so far as they had dealings with it, round the Chamber of Seventeen at Amsterdam and their representatives at Batavia; to work down from above, not to build up from below; to fit localities to the system, not to adapt the system to the needs of the localities. In their eyes any particular station represented a certain proportion of the total trade, and a certain proportion of the total number of employés; while in theory, and to a great extent in practice also, all the stations formed one dependency, to be administered in one way, serving one purpose only—the profit of the company.

Position of the Commander at the Cape. This was the system under which European colonisation in South Africa began, and it lasted with little modification as long as the Netherlands East India Company owned the Cape. The Commander at the Cape took orders both from Amsterdam and from Batavia; and, when officers of higher rank than himself visited Table Bay, on the way to or from the Indies, they superseded him for the time being and framed instructions for his guidance. In this multiplicity of masters there was not much wisdom. The Commander was over-governed himself, and in turn he over-governed those committed to his charge. He was advised by a council, consisting of his chief officers and answering to the Executive Council of a British Crown colony, and he legislated by means of proclamations and resolutions of council. No representative element leavened the executive of the Dutch

Want of a representative element

settlement at the Cape, no legislators were chosen by the community. The government was a despotic government, and the despot was himself the slave of the company. The system seems to us a faulty one, when viewed in the light of after ages and from an English point of view; and it seems the more faulty, because it suggests contrast with the present full-grown self-government of the Cape Colony. But it must in fairness be judged by a different standard. The Netherlands were the home of freedom, but they were not the home of representative government. Parliaments¹ were not congenial to the Dutch temper; and, as long as their lives were prosperous and their liberties were secure, the citizens of the United Provinces troubled their heads little about constitutions. They were often face to face with a national crisis requiring a dictator, and they became accustomed to entrusting their public affairs to one or to few, so long as the one or the few were good Dutchmen. The Netherlands, therefore, who went out to foreign lands did not take with them any longing for popular representation, and the Netherlands who stayed at home did not insist that Dutch colonists should enjoy institutions which they did not possess and did not wish to possess themselves. If, too, it is borne in mind that the object was to establish trading depôts, not to found colonies, it must be admitted that the form of government was well designed to secure the end in view. The evil came from the fact that the Cape settlement was not in the East Indies but in South Africa, whereas it was always treated as though it had been in the East. Despotism is indigenous to the tropical lands of the East, and their teeming populations know nothing of systems under which rulers and ruled continually change places. Europeans went there not to make new homes, not to till the ground, but to govern and to trade. Their subjects were coloured native races, and the

CH. II.

in the government of the colony.

The Cape was treated to a great extent by the Dutch company as if it had been a dependency in the East Indies.

¹ Carlyle, in his *Oliver Cromwell*, pt. 7, reminds us of the literal meaning of Parliament, 'speaking apparatus.'

PART I. wealth which they sought and found was not produced by the white man's toil. The conditions of South Africa were exactly the reverse. In respect of climate no better dwelling-place could be found. Rulers were not wanted there, for administration can hardly be devised for scattered tribes of wandering savages. Traders were not wanted, for there was no trade in existence other than the simplest form of barter. White colonists were the one thing needful, men who would live in the land and work it with their own hands, and who, living and working in European fashion, would necessarily reproduce in South Africa the vigour and freedom of European citizenship. There was nothing in common between the Cape and the East, yet the same system was applied to both¹. It was a fatal mistake, and would have been found out earlier, if the Cape colonists had been more numerous, and if trading had not blunted the political sense of the Dutch.

*The
burgher
councillors
at the Cape.*

But, though the South African settlers had no voice whatever in the government under which they lived, they had a voice in the tribunals by which their cases were decided. Very early in the history of the colony, in the year 1657, it was provided that one of the colonists should sit and vote in the Council of Justice on any occasion on which a fellow colonist was tried. In the following year the number was increased to two, and in the later days of the company's *régime* half of the High Court of Justice was composed of these Burgerraden or burgher councillors. Chosen by the governor and his council from a list of names presented by the whole body of free settlers, they figured to some extent as representatives of the people, and, with the Heemraden, or

¹ Stavorinus writes of the Cape towards the end of the eighteenth century (vol. iii. p. 451): 'The administration of the government of this colony ought not to be put upon the same footing as that of the company's Asiatic possessions, where the greatest part of their subjects consists of a servile and enslaved people, who must be compelled by violence to cultivate their country and to deliver the produce to the company.'

local councillors of the outlying districts, preserved some semblance of public spirit in a colony whose traditions and training were antagonistic to political freedom. CH. II.

It will be remembered that the men whom Van Riebeeck took to the Cape were all servants of the company. They were, we read in his instructions, 'sworn to the general articles of the company¹,' to be employed in its service, each according to his capacity. Whatever land was occupied belonged to the company, and free colonists had no place in the original scheme. In less than three years' time there came a change of view, and we find the commander writing to the Chamber of Seventeen in April, 1655, 'we now perceive that your Honours seem inclined to establish a colony².' The change came from the desire of the directors to encourage the breeding of cattle and the cultivation of grain. The garden produce at the station was enough and to spare; but the supply of live stock depended on the good will of the natives, and grain was imported from Batavia. It was evident that without farms and farmers the settlement would never become self-supporting. As a trade depôt pure and simple it would not pay its way, as a colony it might. 'I once more recommend you to attend above all to the support of the cultivation of grain. We shall never become noblemen here until we shall first have been good farmers³.' So wrote the Dutch commissioner, who visited the Cape in 1657, and who revised the terms upon which certain of the company's servants were given their discharge and permitted to take up land. Corn did not thrive close to the walls of the fort, for the south-east winds in the summer months came up in gales past cloud-capped Table Mountain and laid low the ripening crops; but round the corner of the range, where a circle of thorn trees suggested the name of Rondebosch, 'the wind would scarce have moved a straw⁴.' On this sheltered land

The free colonists.

Extension of the settlement. Rondebosch.

¹ Moodie, p. 8.

² Ibid., p. 97 note.

³ Ibid., p. 61.

⁴ Ibid., p. 91.

PART I. the corn grew well, and, as cultivation spread onward and southward at the back of the mountains, vine-growing gave

Wynberg. Wynberg its name, and Commander Simon Van der Stel made himself a home at Constantia. Rondebosch is now a suburb of Capetown¹, but in old days the fact that men lived and worked a few miles from the fort made the difference between a station and a colony. The outlying settlers were the first Boers or farmers, and the first burghers or citizens in South Africa. They were the men of the country as opposed to the inmates of the fort², the free men of the community as opposed to the white bond servants of the company. Unhappily their farming was sadly restricted, and their citizenship was little more than a name. The idea was to diminish expenditure by substituting freemen for salaried servants, and by encouraging agriculture. Only married men were to be given land, the colonists were to be all of Dutch or German birth, and the grain which they grew was to be sold to the company at a fixed price. For a very short time they were permitted to buy cattle from the natives, but the permission was soon withdrawn, and with the exception that they were allowed to sell to the ships' crews such vegetables as were not required by the garrison, they were bound over to buy from and sell to the company alone. They became, in short, unpaid instead of paid servants of the company³, and the advances which they received in order to enable them to start their holdings placed them in the position of debtors to hard task-masters. Under these conditions the so-called free farmers of South Africa reaped little benefit from their nominal freedom. The new system was initiated in 1657, and, in the following year, a protest

Restrictions placed on the free colonists.

¹ Rondebosch is five miles from Capetown, Wynberg eight.

² There soon, however, grew up also a class of town burghers, i.e. of free colonists who did not farm but lived at the fort as gardeners, handicraftsmen, and shopkeepers. In 1678 they numbered one-third of the total number of free men. (Moodie, p. 363.)

³ See Watermeyer's Lectures, p. 20.

was presented to the Commander by the burgher councillors on behalf of their fellow burghers. They complained of not being allowed to deal with the Hottentots, and they complained too that the price at which they were to deliver their corn had not been fixed. 'Therefore,' ran the petition, 'let a price be soon fixed, for till that is done we will not cultivate any ground, for we will not be slaves to the company'.¹ These were brave words, but, in spite of concessions which were made from time to time, the farmers remained little more than slaves. Monopoly was the mainspring of the company, monopoly controlled the port which was the inlet and outlet of trade, and the colonists were too few to make headway against the system. No wonder that we read of some of these free men becoming stowaways on homeward-bound ships², that others, restless and discontented, were sent to Mauritius, and that the Commanders at the Cape often reported unfavourably of a body of men who were neither bond nor free. 'It is to be lamented,' wrote Commander Van Quaelberg in January, 1668, to his masters at Amsterdam, 'that your Honours' colonies formed by our countrymen, not here alone but in general, do not advance, because the colonists and other freemen, as soon as they find that they are not allowed their head or to attain in their own way their object of enriching themselves, always turn their head and ears towards fatherland³;' and later, in 1676, one of the Dutch commissioners who paid periodical visits to the Cape, notes that 'the Dutch colonists here bear the name of freemen, but they are so limited and restrained in everything that the absence of freedom is rendered only too evident'.⁴

Working under artificial restrictions which crippled their industry, the Dutch farmers had none the less to face the ordinary trials which await settlers in a new country. They lived away from the shelter of the fort, and were therefore

¹ Moodie, p. 151 note.² Ibid., p. 300.³ Ibid., p. 191.⁴ Ibid., p. 340.

PART I.



*Slave
labour at
the Cape.*

constantly liable to depredations from the Hottentots, with whom they were forbidden to barter. On the other hand, the farms languished for want of labour. Some few unmarried men were given their discharge on condition of taking service with their married countrymen; but the wages of Dutch servants were too high to make white labour profitable to those who employed it, and from the first moment that farming was suggested Van Riebeeck urged the necessity of introducing slaves. The earliest experiment in slave labour was made with negroes from Angola and Guinea, two cargoes of whom were landed in Table Bay in 1658. It was not a success. The slaves ran away, and gave so much trouble that the farmers were in most cases glad to be rid of them by handing them back to the company. In after years the chief sources of the labour supply were Madagascar and Malaya. Slavery is unsound in any land, at any time, and under any circumstances; but nowhere was it more out of place than in South Africa. In the tropics, where white men cannot work in the field, on sugar or cotton plantations, where large bodies of unskilled labourers can be continuously employed, it is not wonderful that the slave system came into being; but no such excuses could be pleaded in the South African climate and on South African farms. It was for years an open question whether slavery would take root at the Cape. If the Dutch settlers had been more numerous, if the Hottentots had been more serviceable, if the constant traffic with the East had not suggested forced labour, slaves would not have been imported, whatever might have been the treatment of the natives of the land. It was not until the eighteenth century was well advanced that the Cape became a distinctively slave-owning colony, and as late as the year 1754, when a new slave code was passed, the number of slaves hardly exceeded that of the free colonists¹. Subse-

¹ The numbers given for 1754 are free colonists 5,510, slaves 6,279; for 1756, free colonists 5,123, slaves 5,787.

quently, the bondsmen greatly outnumbered the free, but to the end there was no such enormous excess of slaves over freemen as was proved to be the case in the plantation colonies of the West Indies¹. CH. II.
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It is pleasant, too, to record that slaves in South Africa were on the whole treated with comparative kindness. The first introduction of negroes from the West Coast of Africa was immediately followed by the opening of a school in which the slaves might be taught the doctrines of Christianity; and baptism was held to be preliminary to freedom. Emancipation, indeed, became so common, that it was found necessary to lay down more than once² that no slave should be set free without adequate security being given that he would not become a charge upon the public funds. Still the evils which are inherent in slavery made themselves felt at the Cape. Proclamations in restraint of cruelty told of the inhumanity of masters and of the sufferings of servants, and constant enactments against placing arms within the reach of slaves proved that the community was divided against itself, that it contained an element to be feared and to be ruled by fear. One of the many curses of slavery in all lands was that, the longer it lasted, the more it seemed to deaden the human sympathies of those who held others in bondage. Slave-owning was inherited from generation to generation, until it came to be regarded not as an accidental circumstance but as a law of life. What was originally a device for procuring much needed labour became in time a fundamental article of a creed; and, as the eighteenth century ran its course, the belief gained ground amongst

*Treatment
of slaves at
the Cape.*

¹ At the beginning of the present century, according to Barrow, the adult male slaves in the Cape Colony exceeded the adult male whites in the proportion of 5 to 1, but the excess of the whole slave population over the whole free population was very much less. In Jamaica at the same period the proportion of slaves to whites was 10 to 1. The total number of slaves at the Cape on Oct. 31, 1829—shortly before emancipation—was nearly 36,000.

² In 1708, and apparently again in 1722 and 1777.

PART I. slave-holders that slaves were made by nature not by man, that black men were cast in a wholly different mould from white. Even in South Africa it would seem that, as years went on, the views of the colonists became more distorted, and that the idea of training bond-servants for Christian brotherhood and for liberty yielded to the ever-growing sense of absolute mastery over lower beings. Yet the lot of the slave in the Cape Colony was at all times better than the fate of his fellows in the West Indies, and Hottentots in their semi-servitude to Dutch farmers fared worse than the better workmen enslaved from beyond the seas¹.

*Statistics
of popula-
tion.*

In April, 1657, when the Cape settlement had been in existence for five years, the total European population in South Africa amounted only to 134, of whom 100 were paid servants of the company. In 1672, when the colony was twenty years old, the Europeans did not exceed 600 in all, 64 of whom were burgher colonists. Ten years later, in 1682, the returns showed 663 Europeans, 300 of whom belonged to the garrison, while 162 were children.

*Slow exten-
sion of the
settlement.*

Nearly all the colonists lived in the Cape peninsula, at Table Bay or round the slopes of Table Mountain; but there were small outposts at Saldanha Bay and Hottentots Holland, and in 1679 and 1680 farmers began to till the land at Stellenbosch. Little or nothing was known for many years of the interior behind the mountain buttresses which fronted the peninsula, and in whose keeping were the secrets of the continent. The maps of Africa were strewn with legendary or half-legendary names, and explorers went out into desert

*Ignorance
of the
interior of
Africa.*

¹ Barrow writes under the date 1801-4 (vol. ii. p. 95): 'The field slaves belonging to the farmers are not however nearly so well treated as those of the town; yet infinitely better than the Hottentots, who are in their employ. The farmer, indeed, having a life interest in the one and only five and twenty years in the other, is a circumstance that may explain the difference of treatment.' Similarly the white bond-servants in the West Indies, being only bound for a term of years, are said to have been worse treated than the negro slaves. (See vol. ii. of this work, pp. 48-9.)

lands to look for cities which no man had built. 'I see little difficulty in penetrating from this quarter to the river of Spirito Santo and the city of Monomotapa, to see if anything is to be done for the company there¹,' so wrote Commissioner Rykloff Van Goens, who visited the Cape in 1657. He served as Governor-general of the Netherlands Indies, and when, on his way home in 1682, he called once more at Table Bay, he spoke of 'the river named on the coast Rio de Infante, but called in the interior Camissa or Cumissa, a very large river, the discovery of which will be a great point, and a step towards the subsequent discovery of the river of Monomotapa².' The river of Cumissa, the river and town of Vigiti Magna, and other creations of mediaeval geographers, have long since melted into space, and a spurious island of St. Helena Nova, created by the unusually lively imagination of a fraudulent Dutch carpenter, was searched for in vain³; but, in looking for the unreal, the early settlers in South Africa by very slow degrees enlarged the actual bounds of knowledge, and gradually began to realise the great extent of the land, on the outskirts of which they had made their new home. It was in the year 1657 that a river was found flowing at the foot of the Drakenstein mountains, whence it gained its Dutch name of the Great Berg or mountain river. Near it two granite peaks, which glistened in the sunshine, were christened Diamandt and Paarl. Further to the north, in December, 1660, an exploring party came to a river, on whose banks

*Discovery
of the Great
Berg
River.*

¹ Moodie, p. 98.

² Ibid., p. 387.

³ Ibid., p. 242. The Dutch carpenter's story was that half a degree south of St. Helena there was a low island producing all manner of supplies, which belonged to the Portuguese, and on which he had twice landed himself. On the ground of 'the absolute necessity of another rendezvous to the north of the Cape' the homeward Dutch fleet was in 1662 ordered to search for and to take possession of the island, and a Dutch officer was actually named as its commandant. The island was of course never found, but the fact that it was looked for shows that the Dutch company at this time regretted having allowed the real St. Helena to pass out of their hands.

64 HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE COLONIES.

PART I. they saw a herd of 200 to 300 elephants; and thenceforward
the Great Olifants River appeared on the maps. Exploration
lost itself in the desolate country of the Namaquas, whose
copper gave an incentive to search, and Van der Stel's visit
to Namaqualand in 1685 brought him only within hearsay
of the Orange River, which was not actually reached and
crossed by Europeans for another seventy-five years. The
coast line of South Africa from the mouth of the Olifants
River on the west to that of the Tugela on the east was
fairly well known before the seventeenth century ended, and
in 1689 the Netherlands company formally bought the shores
of the bay of Natal from the leading chief of the place. No
attempt, however, was made to utilise the purchase, and the
ship which was carrying back to the Cape the evidence of
ownership was lost in Algoa Bay.

*Purchase
of the Bay
of Natal by
the Nether-
lands East
India
Company.*

These expeditions by land or sea led to no new colonies. Only a few shipwrecked sailors here and there threw in their lot with the natives. Very late were Europeans in settling in South Africa. Very few were the settlers when they came. Very slow were they to move inland from Table Bay. It was as when a long dark winter has been succeeded by a stubborn spring, and the earth gives no sign of a fuller time to come.

CHAPTER III.

THE CAPE COLONY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

THE Dutch Commander¹ at the Cape during the twenty years from 1679 to 1699 was Simon Van der Stel. His birthplace was the island of Mauritius, where his father commanded the garrison, and he was promoted to the appointment at the Cape from a subordinate position in the East India Company's service. He differed from his predecessors in that he made South Africa his home. After retirement from office, he passed the remainder of his days on his farm at Constantia, where he died in 1712. The wish of his heart was to make the Cape a great Dutch colony, and, among other places, Stellenbosch and Simons-town recall the name of a governor who deserved well of the Dutch in South Africa.

CH. III.

—
Simon Van
der Stel.

Soon after his arrival, he went out to inspect the farm station at Hottentots Holland at the head of False Bay, where nothing he thought was wanted to advance agriculture except 'industrious fatherland farmers'. From thence he rode inland for three or four hours, and at some thirty miles' distance from Capetown came to a valley, well watered, well wooded, comprising many acres fit for pasture and cultivation. 'He also discovered there a small island en-

*The settle-
ment at
Stellen-
bosch*

¹ In 1691 he was raised to the rank of Governor. All his successors bore the higher rank.

² Moodie, p. 371.

PART I. circled by a running stream of fresh water, and thickly
 ——— studded with lofty trees. Here the Commander passed the
 night, and, as the spot had never before been visited by any
 chief authority, it was named Stellenbosch¹. The tone of
 this description, which is quoted from the official diary,
 indicated that a man had come who looked on South Africa
 and South African scenery with a favouring eye, and who
 wished to people the land with his own countrymen. The
 difficulty was to procure colonists. 'We see very little
 chance of being able to provide you from this quarter with
 industrious farmers, because people who will work can at
 present earn a very good livelihood here, and there is no
 want of land to work upon².' This was the answer of the
 Chamber of Seventeen in June, 1680, to Van der Stel's
 report on his discovery of Stellenbosch, and to his appli-
 cation for emigrants from home. The farmers already in
 South Africa, however, were not slow in accepting the
 Commander's invitation to take up land. In less than four
 years' time the community of Stellenbosch was large enough
 to be given a local council of four burgher Heemraden for
 the settlement of all disputes among themselves³; while in
 1685 there were ninety-nine families farming in the valley,
 and the increase of population led to the appointment of
 an officer, who was to be at once president of the council
 and travelling inspector, and who was given the now familiar
 title of Landdrost⁴.

*and
 Draken-
 stein.*

Two years later, in 1687, another settlement was formed.
 A little further inland than Stellenbosch, in the valley of the
 Berg River, ground was allotted to twenty-three farmers, and
 the district was given the name of Drakenstein, in honour
 of a Dutch High Commissioner, Van Rheeде tot Draken-
 stein, who had lately visited the Cape. Thus colonisation
 and agriculture were making way. In 1684 a little grain

¹ Moodie, p. 372.

² Ibid., p. 376.

³ Ibid., p. 390.

⁴ Ibid., p. 397. The English of Landdrost is high-bailiff.

was exported to the Indies, and in 1688 some Cape wine was sent to Ceylon. CH. III.

As is always the case with a young colony, there was at this time a great lack of marriageable women in South Africa. 'Our colonists,' wrote Van der Stel to Amsterdam in 1685, 'chiefly consist of strong, gallant, and industrious bachelors, who, for the solace of their cares and for the managing of their domestic concerns, would most gladly be married: and, as such bonds would establish the colony upon an immovable basis and much increase the zeal of the freemen for agriculture, we have deemed it proper most respectfully to request your Honours that, for the attainment of those desirable objects, thirty or forty young girls may be sent to us as soon as possible, all of whom will be well disposed of at this place¹.'

The want of women among the settlers.

The directors made every effort to supply the want, and to send out eligible Dutch maidens who should be helps meet for the gallant bachelors at the Cape. They applied to the orphan homes of the Netherlands, model institutions in the kindly care given to fatherless and motherless children; and, though the supply of those who were ready to leave their native towns was not equal to the demand, small parties of healthy, well-trained young women went out one year and another to be the wives and mothers of farmers in South Africa, to 'establish the colony upon an immovable basis.' At the end of 1687 the free burghers, their wives and children, amounted to nearly 600 all told, in addition to thirty-nine European servants and some 400 paid employes of the company.

In November of this year the directors wrote that they were about to send out to the Cape, 'among other freemen, some French and Piedmontese fugitives, all of the reformed religion².' The persecution of the Huguenots culminated

The Huguenot immigration.

¹ Moodie, p. 394.

² Ibid., p. 422.

PART I. in 1685 in the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. For years Louis XIV had laid his hand heavily on the Protestants of France, and numbers had gone out to other countries, where they might worship the God of their fathers in their own simple way. Not content with cancelling the edict which had given them civil and religious freedom, the French king prohibited their emigration; for he knew well that he dealt with a class of men who preferred faith to home, and who would suffer in exile rather than be untrue to their strong, pure creed. In spite of threatened pains and penalties, thousands still crossed the borders, secretly, separately, in loneliness and distress, taking from France of the best of her citizens, the most skilful, the most industrious, such men as make and save a state. Scattered abroad for conscience' sake, they brought a blessing to every land that took them in. To Germany, to the Netherlands, to England, they contributed a new strain of healthy Protestantism, higher knowledge of arts and manufactures, better modes of husbandry. As artisans and vinegrowers they had given industrial prosperity to France; that prosperity was now transferred to the countries of their adoption. In past years they had taken the lead in colonial enterprise, in carrying the French name and the French race beyond the seas. The French colonies were now closed to them, and their exclusion went far to ruin the colonial empire of France.

Some of the refugees found their way from the Netherlands to South Africa, being given free passages and grants of land by the directors of the East India Company. The first party started from Holland at the end of 1687, and during the two following years from 150 to 200 French emigrants were landed at the Cape. Farms were allotted to them at the new settlements, chiefly at Drakenstein and Fransche Hoek (the French Corner); provisions were supplied to meet their immediate wants; transport waggons carried them free of charge to their new homes; and

a considerable sum of money was distributed among them, which had been collected for the purpose at Batavia. At the same time the Dutch authorities had no intention of allowing the Cape to become a French colony. The new immigrants were, against their will, not allowed to form a separate community, but were interspersed among the Dutch settlers; their children were taught Dutch; and it was only with difficulty that they obtained permission to form a church body and have a church building of their own. The result was that they became rapidly absorbed; and, after a few years' time, no divisions of race or language disturbed the slumbering restfulness of the settlers in the Cape Colony.

When François Leguat, himself a Huguenot, visited the Cape in 1698, he wrote that the settlement at Drakenstein 'has been frequently augmented, and is almost every day, by a considerable number of French Protestants¹.' As a matter of fact, however, after the first shiploads of emigrants had reached the Cape, only a few Huguenot families came out year by year, and at no time did the French number more than one-eighth of the total European population in South Africa². Still, few as they were both relatively and actually, they were a strong leaven in the community. They came out with their wives and families and made their homes. They came out with their love of liberty and planted it in the land. Of a higher class socially and intellectually than the ex-soldiers and sailors of the Dutch company's service, they taught them to grow corn and wine³, to turn to good account sheltered valleys and sunny hillsides. They gave strength where strength was needed, for they added

¹ The Voyage of François Leguat (Hakluyt Soc.), vol. ii. p. 282.

² See Theal's South Africa, vol. i. pp. 340-1.

³ In announcing that they were sending out Huguenot emigrants, the directors wrote: 'Among those persons you will find wine farmers and brandy distillers, and may thus supply the wants so much complained of.' (Moodie, p. 422.)

PART I. to the number and raised the standard of the country men, the colonists, as opposed to the members of the garrison and the sojourners by the seashore. At the present day French names are borne by many leading families in South Africa ¹, and preserve the memory of the Huguenot refugees who found peace and rest in a small Dutch colony.

Leguat's description of the Cape Colony at the end of the seventeenth century.

'Tis certain the Cape is an extraordinary refuge for the poor French Protestants. They there peaceably enjoy their happiness and live in good correspondence with the Hollanders, who, as every one knows, are of a frank and downright humour ².' So Leguat sums up the condition of his compatriots and fellow Protestants at the Cape, after being an eyewitness of their condition in the year 1698. His testimony is the more valuable, as he had no cause personally to love the Dutch, having suffered much at the hands of a truculent Dutch governor of Mauritius. A pleasant picture he draws of the Cape Colony. It was small, but thriving and prosperous. Inland were the Dutch and French farmers on their homesteads, among gardens and vineyards, living healthy lives in health-giving air, tilling a soil which well repaid their labour. By the sea stood the fort, faced with stone and strongly garrisoned; and 'about seven or eight hundred paces from the fort, and near the sea, there is a little town with about 300 houses in it. The streets are straight and drawn by line. The houses are built with white stones, and at a distance it promises much more than you find when you come near; nevertheless it has wherewithal to content anybody, and you observe the Holland neatness enough in it ³.' Such was the appearance of Capetown at the end

¹ Stavorinus writes in the latter years of the eighteenth century: 'Two-thirds of the farmers that live in the country bear names which prove their French origin. Among others there are a great many of the names of Villiers and Retif' (vol. i. p. 564). The governor of the Cape from 1714 to 1724 was Mauritz Pasques de Chavonnes, and from 1730 to 1737 Jan de la Fontaine—both apparently French names.

² Leguat (as above), vol. ii. p. 287.

³ Leguat, p. 275. Three hundred houses was probably an exaggeration.

of the seventeenth century. The writer goes on to tell of the company's garden, laid out anew by Governor Van def Stel and by the botanist Oldenland¹; and he notes, in passing, the colonists' houses nestling in groves and gardens round the slopes of the Table Mountain range. Whatever blame attached to the Dutch for damaging places which they visited and left, there is no doubt that when once they made a home, they loved to beautify it. Ardent tree-planters they were², and skilful gardeners; coming from a land of dykes and canals, they knew the science of irrigation. At the present time the botanic garden at Buitenzorg in Java is one of the sights of the Netherlands Indies, and in the days of the Dutch East India Company the garden at Capetown delighted alike unlearned travellers and scientific botanists.

CH. III



So the eighteenth century opened brightly for the Cape Colony. The European population was increasing steadily though slowly, and between one and two thousand Dutch and French colonists were permanently settled in the land. Colonisation had spread beyond the peninsula, though not yet over the mountains. The vines were bearing, the trees were growing, corn and cattle were plentiful, and year by year more vessels called at the Table Bay³. Slave labour was available, and even the Hottentots were learning to make themselves of use. 'In the busiest of the harvest or the ploughing season,' wrote Van der Stel in 1688, 'they come down among us like the Westphalians in the Netherlands⁴,'

¹ Leguat says however (p. 275) that he did not find the garden at Capetown 'so magnificent as I have seen it described.'

² Under the government of the Van der Stels large numbers of oaks were planted in the Cape peninsula and at Stellenbosch and Drakenstein. 'There was a regulation under which any one felling a tree on his own ground was to plant an oak in its stead, but it was generally neglected.' (Theal's South Africa, vol. ii. p. 54.)

³ There was a large increase in the ten years following the Peace of Utrecht in 1713.

⁴ Moodie, p. 423.

PART I. and the French refugees found them work to do in their vineyards and on their corn fields¹. For offensive purposes they were hopelessly disabled by constant intertribal wars; and a few years later, in 1713, whole clans were exterminated by small-pox. In the Cape Colony they were a doomed race, doomed alike by character and by circumstances: they began as friends of the Dutchmen, courted and humoured; they ended as outcasts in their own country, occasionally utilised, constantly maltreated, always despised.

Stagnation of the colony in the eighteenth century. Relative decline of the Dutch.

Promising in a quiet way was the outlook of the colony, but the promise was not fulfilled. It was not that any catastrophe overtook the settlement, or the mother country from which the settlers came. Nor was it a case of premature decay. It was rather that, as the century went on, the world grew too fast for the Dutch. Their resources were not equal to a prolonged struggle for empire; they kept the views and the system of a past time; they could not, and they did not, recast their policy or fall into line with stronger peoples. England and France went on, the Dutch stood still, rich enough to be envied, not strong enough to be feared.

Decline of the Netherlands East India Company.

As the Netherlands became relatively weaker, when compared with their own past and with other European nations, so the Dutch East India Company declined and ultimately fell. Up to the end of the first quarter of the eighteenth century, its trade was flourishing and its profits were large. After that date it prospered less and less, and ended in bankruptcy. It suffered from English and French competition in the East, but its downfall was due as much to internal as to external causes. A company's rule cannot last. As a governing body it is doing work which belongs not to a private body but to a nation. It does the work for

¹ 'Our refugees made the Hottentots work in their harvests, vintages, and whatever else they please, for a little bread or tobacco.' (Leguat, vol. ii. p. 286.)

a time, and often does it well; but there comes a point at which, if the work is to last, it must be taken over by the State. The reason is that men do not live by bread alone, and that there are ends to be achieved and objects to be safeguarded outside and beyond the dividends of shareholders. The life of a company is a trading life; its territories and subjects are assets or liabilities as the case may be; but government cannot be measured simply by profit and loss, and human beings cannot be treated merely as so many items in a merchant's ledger.

The process by which companies lapse and become absorbed in peoples went on in the past and is going on at the present time. The English East India Company had a long life, but its existence as a governing corporation was protracted only by placing it more and more under State control. The Dutch East India Company, from the first, was, as we have seen, more nearly than any other company a national association, and its connexion with the State was drawn closer when, in 1749, the Stadtholder of the Netherlands was appointed to the office of chief director¹. But the nation was assimilated to the company rather than the company to the nation. The Dutch became more and more a community of merchants, and government was more and more subordinated to trade. A declining company was linked to a declining political power, and the failings inherent in the one were enhanced by the growing weakness of the other. The officers of the company were badly paid, and supplemented their insufficient salaries by private traffic. The evil was not peculiar to the Dutch. It was the same with the French in Canada. It was the same with the English in India. It was the evil against which Clive fought with so much courage and determination during his last term of service in Bengal. It seems transparently obvious that, if

*Its officers
engage in
private
trade.*

¹ In 1747 the office of Stadtholder had been revived and made hereditary in the House of Orange.

PART I. employers are to be honestly served, they must pay good wages; yet the history of colonial administration abundantly shows that no lesson has been so imperfectly learnt and so constantly forgotten. Have few officers, work them hard, pay them well, hold them responsible, and trust them—this is the only way to secure capable and honest administration. In the latter part of the seventeenth and throughout the eighteenth century, no government acted on these lines, and companies could hardly be expected to do so. Their business was not to train just and wise rulers, but to buy the services of their staff as cheaply as possible. They paid salaries on which men could hardly live, and the subject races had to make good the deficiency.

In South Africa, however, there were not the same facilities for trade and extortion as existed in the East, and therefore the officers who were sent to the Cape were naturally in a hurry to move on to the Netherlands Indies and share in the spoil. In order to improve their position, without raising their salaries, the company, towards the end of the seventeenth century, gave them grants of land and allowed them to farm on the same conditions as the free burghers. Thus it was that, among others, the governor himself, Simon Van der Stel, became possessor of a fine property, a farm at Constantia. It was a vicious system, and soon bore evil fruit. Those who were entrusted with the work of government neglected their duties, and the colonists found themselves competing with the company's servants in a market which the servants controlled in the name of the company. Public discontent culminated in the time of William Van der Stel, who succeeded his father as governor in 1699, and ruled till 1707. He held a large estate at Hottentots Holland, and there he busied himself in making money, using for his private gain, so the colonists contended, the paid servants of the company, the slaves of the company, and the stores of the company. As governor, he regulated prices in his

*Oppression
of William
Van der
Stel.*

own interest, buying for little, selling for much, oppressing the people who were committed to his charge, defrauding the masters whom he was paid to serve. The end of it was an uprising of the farmers: some were arrested and imprisoned by the governor, some were exiled. But a memorial which was sent to Amsterdam answered its purpose, Van der Stel was removed from office, and the officials at the Cape were for the time strictly forbidden to own land or to engage in trade.

CH. III.



Some years before the date of this outbreak, the Dutch company had recourse to a well-known device of employers who mistrust their servants, the plan of dividing authority and appointing in every dependency an officer who should be independent of and in a position to check the governor. The new official was called the Independent Fiscal. He was not only entrusted with the regulation of justice, but was also given control of the accounts and the expenditure, being held responsible to the directors alone. A similar system prevailed in the French colonies, where the Intendant, who was a financial officer of the French king, with certain judicial powers, was at perpetual variance with the governor¹. Like all his colleagues in the company's service, the Independent Fiscal was underpaid; he made his living by fees; and his appointment was useful only on the principle of setting a thief to catch a thief².

The Independent Fiscal.

¹ For the position of the Intendant in the French colonies and his relations to the Governor, reference should be made to Mr. Parkman's book, *The Old Régime in Canada*.

² The following comments on the Independent Fiscal in the years 1772-3 are given in Thunberg's account of the Cape of Good Hope. (See Pinkerton's *Collection of Voyages*, vol. xvi. p. 63.) 'The fiscal is independent in his office, not being subordinate to the governor, and accountable only to the directors in Holland. When disputes and contentions arise between burghers or others he fines them. The fine here is not proportioned to the crime of the offenders, but for the most part suited to their circumstances. The fiscal, therefore, to whom these fines furnish a considerable revenue, treats turbulent and offending persons as a physician does a plethoric patient, of whom he always draws blood in proportion as the strength of his habit will permit.'

PART I.



*Governor
Tulbagh.*

Faulty, however, as was the Dutch company's administration, it must not be supposed that oppression in any acute form was as a rule rife at the Cape, or that the governors and the co-ordinate or subordinate officials made life entirely miserable. There were upright men among them, like Pasques de Chavonnes, governor from 1714 to 1724, and like Governor Tulbagh, whose twenty years of rule from 1751 to 1771 were twenty years of quietness and confidence, of even-handed and clean-handed justice. Nor were the directors by any means deaf to all complaints, or blind to all abuses. Given a certain system, they meant to govern well, but the system had never been suited to the place, and became more and more unsuited to the time.

*Finances
of the
Dutch
East India
Company.*

The Cape Colony under the Dutch company never paid its way. Had the settlers always been left to live their lives in their own manner, exchanging their own produce freely with natives and strangers, governing themselves, taxing themselves, paying only for a very simple form of administration suited to a primitive community, the colony would have been solvent, and there would have been modest prosperity, sober content, and gradual progress. But, on the contrary, the colonists were tied up with monopolies, devised by men who were managing a large and losing concern, in which South Africa was only a subordinate factor. Licences to retail wine and spirits, tithes of grain, taxes on wine, rents of cattle farms, were among the sources of revenue; but, if the receipts increased, the expenditure increased also, for it was expenditure designed not merely to meet the needs of South Africa but also the requirements of an outpost of the East.

*Division of
interests at
the Cape.
Contrast
between the
port and
the country
districts.*

The older the settlement grew, the more evident it became that there was a double thread running through its existence, that there were two discordant elements making up its history. It was a dependency of the East, but it was also a South African colony. Each year the division grew wider between what might by courtesy be called town and country,

between the life which centred round Table Bay, and the life of the dwellers and the wanderers inland. Almost from the first there had been a certain number of town burghers, of freemen whose houses and gardens were near the fort, and who earned their money as retail traders, as handicraftsmen, or as market gardeners. More shipping came to the fort, and their numbers grew in proportion; shopmen and inn-keepers¹ multiplied, and townspeople of various callings. Their interests were all bound up in the passing trade; they made their living out of the ships which called on the way to and from the East: they had little in common with the farmers of Stellenbosch, still less with the graziers of Graaf Reinet: they were in, but not of, South Africa. The farmers, on the other hand, sent, it is true, their grain and their wine to the fort and to the storehouses of the company; but distances were great and roads were few: further and further they went from the sea: weaker and weaker became the link between the town at Table Bay and the scattered homesteads and far-off cattle runs of the interior.

CH. III.

The town burghers.

The country farmers.

The main feature in South African colonisation has been constant trekking², perpetual emigration from settled to unsettled districts. In all new countries the area of settlement widens as the number of settlers grows, but in South Africa, without any pressure of population, families have been constantly moving on far into the wilderness, leaving blank spaces behind them. For this geography has been partly responsible. The formation of the land and the unequal distribution of the water supply made continuity almost impossible. The habitable districts are cut off from each other by mountain ranges. The beginning is a peninsula quite distinct from the mainland, and the interior rises in terraces to be reached

'Trekking' in South Africa.

¹ 'Most families at the Cape are maintained by the trade which they carry on with the seafaring people who touch there, or by keeping houses for the ships' officers.' (Stavorinus, vol. i. p. 565.)

² The Dutch verb *trekken* means 'to pull, draw,' and is eminently suggestive of moving off in waggons.

PART I. only by crossing successive mountain ranges. Watered valleys, shut in by the hills, alternate with dusty and almost treeless plains, the one offering permanence of tenure but permanence in solitude, the other suggesting life in a waggon, the life of nomads in the desert. In such a land it was almost inevitable that Europeans should disperse and wander far and wide; but the evil, for an evil it was, was fostered by the action of the government. The rule of the company was at once weak and irritating; it fettered freedom of action without giving adequate protection. Men lost little or nothing by wandering far from headquarters, and they gained the advantage of living in semi-savage freedom. Thus a race of farmers grew up, accustomed to isolation, impatient of control; and the origin of the Treks and the Boer wars of the present century may be traced back to the character which was formed and the mode of life which prevailed under the *régime* of the Netherlands East India Company.

*Dispersion
of the popu-
lation
fostered by
the com-
pany's rule.*

*Cattle
farming.*

In the earlier days of the colony, there was a standing order¹, oftentimes repeated, which prohibited trade between the settlers and the natives. In 1700 this order was cancelled under instructions from the Chamber of Seventeen, and thenceforward for some years² the farmers had full liberty to buy cattle from the Hottentots. A great impetus was thereby given to cattle-farming, and the population were scattered more widely than before. The land regulations of the company tended to produce the same result. Leasehold was the most common form of land tenure; and in leasing land to the farmers at a yearly rent, the company laid down that a clear space of about three miles should intervene between one homestead and the next³. In short, nature

*Land regu-
lations.*

¹ See above, p. 42.

² The prohibition was subsequently revived.

³ See Barrow's *South Africa* (2nd ed.), vol. ii. pp. 84-5. The distance was measured from the centre of one farm to the centre of the next. Barrow suggests that the framers of the regulation may have had in view the principle *Divide et impera*.

and man conspired to produce a colony which should not be a community, a Dutch dependency lacking the spirit of citizenship which had created the United Netherlands. In Holland and Zeeland the Dutch lived close together in a very small space. The main features of their life were the towns and the sea. In South Africa there was but one small town, and the majority of the colonists were widely spread through a very large extent of inland territory. At home the population was large and the land was small. In South Africa the population was very small and the country was unbounded in area. The compactness of the Netherlands, the briskness of its commercial life, were wanting in the Cape Colony. 'However extensive the colony is,' wrote the Swedish naturalist Sparrman, 'yet it cannot be considered at present in any other light than that of a proportionably large but weakly, consumptive body, in which the circulation of trade is very slow and sluggish¹.' 'It is certain,' wrote Captain Cook about the same date, 'that, were it not for the continued importation of slaves, this settlement would be thinner of people than any other inhabited part of the world².' Transplanted to a new soil and climate, placed in wholly new conditions, the race became of necessity modified in course of generations. The difference between the citizen of the Netherlands and the South African Boer was the difference between a strong plant, trimmed and pruned, in a carefully ordered garden, and the same plant growing at will in a desert place, trailing its full length along the ground. The Dutchman in the country districts of the Cape Colony became a Dutchman run wild. He kept the strength, the tenacity, the independence of his race,

CH. III.

Contrast
between
Dutchmen
at home
and Dutch-
men in
South
Africa.

¹ Sparrman's *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope, &c.*, 1772-6 (Engl. Transl.), London, 1785, vol. ii. p. 262. He visited the Cape in 1772, and again in 1775-6.

² From *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, &c.* (ed. of 1785), vol. i. p. 41. On this, which was Capt. Cook's last voyage, he was at the Cape in October and November, 1776. He had visited the colony three times before.

PART I. but he lived more or less by himself and for himself; he
 —♦— lost in great measure the power of cohesion for political and
 social purposes; and his love of liberty degenerated into
 antagonism to those rules and restraints without which
 civilisation and progress are absolutely impossible.

*The lie of
the land in
the Cape
Colony.* The continent of Africa, taken as a whole, is a great
 plateau, fringed by mountain ranges which run parallel to
 the sea. Between the outer edge of the mountains and the
 ocean there is a strip of coast line, varying in width, unhealthy
 on the eastern and western sides of the continent, where the
 tropical sun and tropical rains combine to make swamp and
 jungle a breeding-place of malaria; healthy where beyond
 the tropics the land narrows into the southern seas. East of
 Cape Agulhas, the coast runs for many miles nearly due
 east and west, and from east to west in regular order are
 successive lines of hills or mountains, by which the ground
 rises towards the north in ever-widening terraces. The
 range which is nearest the coast-line is marked on the maps
 as the Langebergen. The next barrier to be surmounted is
 that of the Zwarteborgen. On the inland side of the Zwarteborgen
 is the plateau of the Great Karroo, and this plateau
 is in turn bounded on the north by the range of the Roggeveld,
 Nieuwveld, and Sneeuwberg mountains. Such is the
 lie of the land, as it faces due north and south; but where
 the coast turns the mountains turn also, and the heights
 which run along the eastern and western sides of the continent
 intersect the ranges which front the south. Directly
 over against the Cape peninsula, in the extreme south-west
 of Africa, the transverse ridges meet, forming the group of
 the Drakenstein mountains, over which is the direct route
 from Capetown to the interior; and for many years these
 mountains formed the natural boundary of the Cape colony.
 On their outer slopes, at Stellenbosch and Drakenstein,
 and in the Paarl and Malmesbury districts, Dutchmen and
 Huguenots lived and farmed, content to make and keep

their homes within easy distance of the sea. As the seventeenth century ended, they began to cross the mountains; and in the year 1700 some land was taken up and an out-station was formed, where the headwaters of the Little Berg and the Breede rivers nearly meet, in what is now known as the Tulbagh division, but was then named the Land of Waveren. Here, some forty years later, a church was built, reached by a mountain road over the Roodezand pass, and round it a village grew up, which is now the little country town of Tulbagh.

CH. III.

Extension
of Euro-
pean settle-
ment in
South
Africa.
The Land
of Waveren
or Tulbagh.

From Waveren settlers followed the course of the Breede River in a south-easterly direction, while other colonists moved due east from Hottentots Holland along the valley of the Zonder End. A little below the point where the latter stream joins the Breede, the village of Swellendam was founded in 1746, to be the administrative centre of a new district of the colony carved out of the Stellenbosch division. At a later date, in 1770, the line of the Zwartebergen mountains was taken to be its northern boundary; on the south it was bounded by the sea. It began on the west near where the town of Worcester now stands, and its eastern limit was fixed at the Gamtoos River, a little short of Algoa Bay and Port Elizabeth¹.

Swellendam.

In the opposite direction, due north of Capetown, farmers found that wheat grew well in what was known as the Zwartland district, between the mountains and the sea; and here, about the same time that the village of Swellendam was founded, a church was built to meet the spiritual wants of a growing number of colonists. This church, the Zwartlands' Kerk, was the nucleus of what is now the town of Malmesbury. Further north again, following the line of the

Zwartland
now
Malmes-
bury.

¹ In 1775 the eastern boundary of the Swellendam district was moved forward to the Bushman's River; but, when ten years later the new district of Graaf Reinet was formed, the country between the Gamtoos and the Bushman's Rivers was cut off from Swellendam and included in Graaf Reinet.

PART I. western coast, the pioneers of settlement crossed the Berg

→→→
*Piquet-
berg.*

River into the Piquetberg district, grazing their cattle as far asfield as the mouth of the Olifants River; and, before the eighteenth century ended, the fringe of colonisation touched what is now known as the Calvinia district, and the part of Namaqualand which lies to the south of the Orange River.

*The
Orange
River.*

The Orange River—the Great River—still for many miles the northern boundary of the Cape Colony, was first crossed by an European in 1760; and in 1779 Captain Gordon, a Scotchman in the service of the Netherlands East India Company, reached its mouth, and named it after the Stadholder of the United Provinces.

*The colony
divided
into four
districts.*

1. *The
Cape
district.*

2. *Swellen-
dam.*

3. *Stellen-
bosch.*

4. *Graaf
Reinet.*

The Cape peninsula and the land to the north, stretching along the coast as far as Saldanha Bay and inland as far as Malmesbury, formed the Cape district. The boundaries of the Swellendam district have already been described. All the rest of the colony, including the Overberg—the land beyond the mountains, the plateau of the Great Karroo—was for many years included in the administrative division of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein. In 1785, however, in order to exercise some control over the cattle farmers of the frontier and to meet their convenience, the directors at Amsterdam consented to the creation of a fourth district, the district of Graaf Reinet¹. Its western boundary was near the twenty-second meridian of east longitude, and on the east it extended to the Great Fish River, taking in Algoa Bay and the present divisions of Albany and Bathurst, then known as the Zuurveld.

*Eastern
boundary*

The Great Fish River was the easternmost limit of the colony in Dutch times². On the north no frontier line was

¹ Called after Van de Graaf, governor from 1785 to 1791.

² The boundaries were not territorial boundaries. In other words, the Dutch would presumably not have admitted the right of other Europeans to settle beyond them. They were rather limits within which colonial jurisdiction ran, and were fixed in the hope of preventing illicit barter between the settlers and the Kaffir tribes. (See Moodie's Record, pt. 2, p. 50 note.)

drawn, but the Boers trekked on to the Upper Karroo beyond the Nieuwveld and the Sneeuwberg mountains, and in 1778 Governor Van Plettenberg placed a beacon on the banks of the Zeekoe River, a few miles to the west of the present town of Colesberg, to mark the boundary on the north-east.

CH. III.
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of the colony was the Great Fish River. Plettenberg's beacon, on the north-east of the colony. The Dutch at Delagoa Bay.

Early in the century an attempt had been made by the company to gain a footing in south-east Africa. In 1720, a few years after the abandonment of Mauritius, an expedition was sent from the Cape to form a station at Delagoa Bay. The Portuguese always claimed the bay, but seem to have given up their factory or factories upon its shores nearly thirty years before, and the fine natural harbour invited occupation by other Europeans, especially by the owners of the Cape. A small Dutch fort was built, named Fort Lagoa, which was subsequently reconstructed and enlarged under the name of Lydzaamheid. A little exploring was done in the supposed direction of Monomotapa. Some gold-dust was obtained by barter with the natives, just enough to excite a wish for more; copper was procured, a little ivory, and a few slaves. But, then as now, fever laid low the white men on these deadly shores, and when, after ten years' time, there was little to show but loss of life, the fort was at the end of 1730 dismantled and the garrison withdrawn.

The further the colonists went afield, the more they came into collision with the Bosjesmen, or Bushmen, and on the east with the Kaffir tribes. Of the Bushmen, in their relations to the European immigrants, there is little to be said. No one district held them. No people, black or white, as a rule, befriended them or won their friendship. Year after year they murdered outlying settlers and their families, and carried off their stock. Year after year the Dutchmen formed commandos and shot them down. It was otherwise with the Kaffirs. In physique and intellect, in strength of

The Bushmen.
The Kaffirs.

PART I.



*Their
advance
towards the
South.*

head and hand, far superior to other South African natives, they were, like the Dutchmen, constantly pressing forward, exterminating the Bushmen as they went, crushing or assimilating the Hottentots. Their advance was roughly parallel to the south-eastern coast. Before the eighteenth century began they had reached the Great Kei River, and by the middle of that century they had mastered the country as far as the Keiskamma, and bid fair to thrust the Hottentots back behind the Great Fish River. The van of these coast Kaffirs was led by the Kosa or Amakosa tribes, and they faced the Dutch colonists, as the latter moved eastward past Mossel Bay to the Gamtoos River, and on to Algoa Bay and the Zuurveld. In 1778 Governor Van Plettenberg agreed with some Kaffir chiefs that the Great Fish River should be the dividing line between the two races, and in 1780 that river was formally declared to be the eastern boundary of the colony. But rivers are easy to cross, and both white and black men strayed beyond the line. In 1779 the Kosas advanced into the Zuurveld and began raiding the Dutchmen's herds. A counter-attack was organised, and in 1781 the first of many Kaffir wars ended successfully for the colonists; the invaders being completely defeated by a strong Dutch commando and driven back across the Fish River into their own territory.

*The first
Kaffir
War.*

*Statistics
of the
colony in
1770.*

In the year 1770 there were nearly 10,000 Europeans in the Cape Colony. Some 1,700 of the total were servants of the company, and the free colonists numbered more than 8,000, the majority of whom were children. A few male European servants were still enumerated in the census returns, but, in the face of a growing slave population, free white labour can hardly have been in demand. Wheat, wine, and live stock formed the wealth of the country colonists. The products were increasing, and the revenue too was increasing, though it lagged far behind the expenditure. The days of the Dutch company, however, were rapidly

being numbered, and after a few more years the South African colony, which they had never learnt to rule, was to begin a new life under the guidance of a stronger power. Time was when the Dutch carried all before them in the East, but by the middle of the eighteenth century their sun was sinking below the horizon, and the twilight of their fortunes was beginning, giving forth but the shadows of former greatness. The leadership in India and in the Indian seas was now vested in the countrymen of Clive; the second place was held by the French; and the Netherlands could but wait on events, finding some security in the constant jealousy and strife between Great Britain and France.

CH. III.

*Decay of
the Dutch
power in
the East.*

It has been seen that in the early days of the Cape Colony the Dutch in South Africa were fortunate in immunity at once from foreign invasion and from attack by natives of the soil; that the colonists were few, living in a compact area, controlled by a strong company, and not in a position to engage in any serious quarrels with their masters or among themselves. In the last twenty years of the eighteenth century all this was changed. We come in the history of the colony to a time when capture by foreigners was imminent, when border wars were frequent and dangerous, when the colonists were at daggers drawn with the company, when the mother country, to which their appeal lay, was divided against itself. The signs of the times were wars and rumours of wars. At home, abroad, was nothing but unrest. Since 1674 the English and Dutch had been at peace. Once only, in 1759, shortly after the battle of Plassey, there had been an open rupture in India between the two nations; an expedition, which had been sent from Batavia to reinforce the Dutch factory at Chinsurah on the Hoogly and to make a demonstration against the English in Bengal, having been opposed and crushed by Clive. No war, however, between Great Britain and the Netherlands resulted from the incident, which served only to prove the impotence of the Dutch East

*The last
twenty
years of the
eighteenth
century.*

PART I. India Company and the growing strength of the English; and it was not until the year 1780 that the century of peace between the two old rivals and old allies came to an end. It was a time of danger and difficulty for England. Her colonists in North America were making good their independence by force of arms. France had declared war against her; Spain had joined with France; and Catherine of Russia was banding the northern nations of Europe in an armed neutrality, directed against English claims to right of search on the high seas. The British Government suspected that the Netherlands would become a party to this league of neutral powers, contrary to the old but still standing treaties, under which it was contended that in any European war the English might count on Dutch support. There was reason to think that Dutch traders were furnishing supplies to the French and to the Americans, and evidence came to light that the city of Amsterdam had, in the year 1778, actually negotiated a treaty with the United States, in the name of the States-General of the Netherlands¹. The truth was that there were then and for years afterwards two parties in Holland. The Stadtholder favoured the old English alliance; but the republican sympathies of the Dutch people in general, and of Amsterdam in particular, coupled with jealousy of British trade, turned the 'scale of public feeling in favour of America and France.

British expedition against the Cape forced by the French admiral Suffren.

The end of it was that Great Britain declared war against the Netherlands in December, 1780, and in the following March a British fleet set sail with secret orders to take possession of the Cape. The ships were forty-six in number, all told, under the command of Commodore Johnstone, and they carried 3,000 troops—a force more than sufficient to overpower the Dutch in South Africa, if the latter were left to their own resources. News of the expedition, however, had

¹ See the Annual Register for 1780 and Lecky's History of England in the Eighteenth Century, vol. iv. chap. xiv.

reached the French Government. Admiral Suffren sailed in haste from Brest with a small squadron, and, after surprising the British fleet at the Cape Verde Islands, contrived to reach Table Bay in time to prevent the colony from falling into Johnstone's hands. From that date until after the peace of 1783 had been concluded, a French regiment helped to garrison Capetown.

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The war proved, if proof were needed, that the Dutch could no longer stand alone; that in time of war they must follow the lead of either England or France, and that to either England or France would be assigned, by force of circumstances more than by the chance of war, some portion of the Dutchmen's colonial heritage. Weak as the Netherlands were at home, they were weaker still in their dependencies; and among those dependencies the English especially had reason to covet the harbours and stations at Table Bay and Trincomalee. Table Bay was now needed in addition to St. Helena for the growing East India trade of Great Britain, and Trincomalee was perilously near to British India, if used with hostile intent. In the war, which ended with the treaty of 1783, the Cape was nearly taken by the English, and Trincomalee actually was occupied by them for a short time. It was a war in which England was single-handed against the world; and it could hardly have been doubted that, if another and more favourable occasion were to arise, she would strain every nerve to protect her commercial interests in the East by taking and keeping these two points of vantage. Meanwhile, however, Suffren had checkmated Johnstone, and for the time being the Cape Colony was preserved to the Netherlands.

*Weakness
of the
Dutch.*

The war of American Independence had indirectly a great effect upon the fortunes of the Cape and the Dutch residents at the Cape. Not only did it lead to war between England and Holland, but it intensified the discontent which existed among the settlers in South Africa against the rule of the

*Discontent
among the
Cape
colonists
with the
rule of the
Dutch.*

PART I. Netherlands East India Company. They heard of colonists, like themselves, making good their claims to freedom, rising in arms not merely against a company, but against a nation.

East India Company.

America proved that colonial independence might be more than a dream, and from the New World came a new lesson that Europeans out of Europe need not necessarily be subordinated to their countrymen at home. But, though in point of fact the Dutchmen in South Africa suffered more at the hands of their rulers than the New Englanders and Virginians, their quarrel was not with the mother country or the States-General, but with the East India Company, or rather with the representatives of that company at Capetown and Batavia. They were in the main loyal to the United Netherlands, and, like their forefathers who founded and held together the United Netherlands, they were not so much concerned to assert abstract principles or to recast a system, as to procure the removal of certain definite restrictions which caused practical inconvenience, and to prevent undue interference by those in authority with their mode of life and their business relations. Their complaints were not all well founded, one of them being that they were not allowed to punish their slaves at will; but most of the grievances which four delegates, acting on behalf of four hundred burghers of the Cape Colony, carried in 1779 to Amsterdam, were such as reasonable men could not gainsay and right-thinking men would be earnest to redress. They asked to be safeguarded against arbitrary actions and arbitrary exactions; they asked that the laws under which they lived, and the taxes and dues which they were called upon to pay, should be clearly defined; they demanded right of appeal to the courts of the Netherlands instead of to Batavia; they proposed that the number of burgher members in the High Court of Justice should be increased, and that burgher members should sit in Council of Government; and once more they laid bare the two old sores, which, never cured, had drained the life-blood

Delegates of the colonists sent to Amsterdam.

Nature of their complaints.

of the colony, that townsmen and farmers were prohibited from trading freely, while on the other hand the officers of the Government were allowed to grow rich by trade. Had these two evils been adequately remedied at an earlier date, by Dutch colonists, though not by English, the want of representative institutions might possibly not have been felt. If the Government had been strong and just, it might have remained absolute. But in rulers who were weak and irritating, who took more than was due and gave little or nothing in return, no confidence was felt. Hence the burghers asked that a representative element might be introduced into the Council of Government.

The burgher members of the High Court of Justice had gradually become recognised as spokesmen of the community on matters of local interest. It had long been the practice of the governors of the Cape to consult them, whenever any new measures were contemplated relating to the domestic affairs of the colony. It was, therefore, not unreasonable to ask that a certain number of such popular representatives should be appointed to the governing body, that they should be entitled to speak and vote on the laws and regulations which controlled the life of the people. But the concession was never made, and, if it had been made, it would have come too late to regenerate the colony. All that was done in the way of constitutional reform was to increase the number of burgher members in the High Court of Justice, and, after the receipt of further memorials, to appoint in 1786, by way of experiment, a mixed board consisting of six members of the Court of Justice, three officials and three burghers, with power to fix the prices at which the produce of the farmers should be bought by the company, to recommend the best modes of taxation, and to undertake such duties as are usually entrusted to a municipal council. The board proved a failure, and perished almost as soon as it had been called into being.

CH. III.

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*Action
of the
directors.*

PART I. In truth the colony was rotten to the core, and every year
 ——— confusion was becoming worse confounded. During the
Unsound late war, while Holland was in alliance with France, and
condition of French troops were quartered at Capetown, trade had been
the colony. abnormally brisk, and prices had been unusually high. But
 the goods were being imported in French and Danish ships
 more than in Dutch; and the Netherlands company, which
 used to carry for the world, was now hardly first in its own
 ports. The restoration of peace in 1783 did not bring back
 sound economy. Frightened at having nearly lost their South
 African colony, the directors of the company determined to
 fortify Capetown, to largely increase its garrison, to make
 it more than ever a depôt for the East Indies, and to place it
 in charge of a military governor. The governor in question,
 Colonel Van de Graaf, came out early in 1785; batteries
 and forts were built or repaired; and Swiss and German
 mercenaries swelled the number of the troops. For five
 years public and private extravagance was rife at Capetown,
 and paper money circulated as though it were gold. But out
 in the country were struggling farmers, left to take care of
 themselves, living a hand to mouth existence, while Bushmen
 troubled them on the north and Kaffirs on the east.

Fresh
troubles
with the
Kaffirs. Nearly eight years had passed since the close of the first
 Kaffir War, when a horde of Kaffirs again crossed the Fish
 River and raided the Zuurveld. The burghers who suffered
 were ready and willing to undertake the work of defence and
 reprisal; but the Government, which had failed to protect
 them, counter-ordered their commandos. The official policy
 was not to punish but to conciliate the invaders, to buy them
 off, not to quell them by force of arms. In the case of border
 wars it is always difficult to ascertain the truth, to decide
 what justice requires and what is due to humanity. Men
 who live at a distance see with different eyes from those
 who are face to face with savages, and wider motives
 influence a government than the one thought of what is

strictly owing in a particular case to the white men or the black. But it must be confessed that the policy of not repelling force by force has rarely answered with barbarous tribes. Forbearance after subjugation is understood by coloured races, concession in the face of provocation is attributed to weakness. An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth is not Christian dealing, but it is the dealing which fair unbiassed history proves to have been in the end most productive of good and least productive of evil, when communities of white men have conterminous frontiers with tribes of blacks. In the case in point the disturbance ended by Kaffirs being left on the Dutch side of the Fish River; and the border farmers, more exposed than before, and deprived of redress, added to their store of bitterness against the authorities at Capetown.

This was in the year 1789. In the following year the *Bankruptcy of the company.* crash began to come. The company was by this time hopelessly bankrupt. Its credit was gone like its ready money. The fortifications at the Cape were left unfinished; the garrison was reduced; the governor was recalled and returned to Europe in 1791; and the close of that year saw a colony in which, exclusive of soldiers and sailors, there were 14,600 Europeans owning over 17,000 slaves, left to financial and administrative chaos, with divided interests of town and country, with citizens disaffected to their rulers, with insecure frontiers, and with an insufficiently guarded port.

The States-General appointed a commission, to inquire *Nederburgh and Frykenius visit the Cape as commissioners-general.* into the affairs of the East India Company. The result of the inquiry was that a board, consisting of four commissioners-general, was appointed to restore, if possible, order and good government to the mismanaged dependencies of the company in South Africa and the East Indies. Two of these gentlemen, Nederburgh and Frykenius by name, arrived at the Cape in June, 1792, took over the government,

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PART I.



and set to work to reform and to economise. They remained in the colony for rather more than a year, and by rigorous retrenchments, coupled with additional taxation, greatly reduced the excess of expenditure over revenue. They failed however to gain the confidence of the colonists. One of their new taxes—an auction tax—caused special resentment; and, while they relaxed the restrictions on trade in various directions, they prohibited trade with foreigners more strictly than before. The Boers of Graaf Reinet were exasperated by the appointment of a Landdrost whom they mistrusted. On the eastern frontier there were fresh troubles with the Kaffirs, with no more satisfactory issue than before; and on the north of the Karroo the Bushmen were more than usually aggressive, being eventually shot down in larger numbers than usual. Such were the conditions when the two commissioners left Capetown for Batavia in September, 1793, placing the government in the hands of Mr. Sluysken, an old officer of the company, who was at the time on his way home from India. Within the next two years the burghers of Graaf Reinet and of Swellendam openly threw off the rule of the East India Company, expelled their respective Landdrosts, and took the administration of their districts into their own hands.

Sluysken placed in charge of the government.

The burghers of Graaf Reinet and Swellendam rise in open rebellion.

The Netherlands overrun by the French.

The insurgents called themselves 'Nationals,' echoing the phrases of the French Revolution; and Nationals they were, in that they rose not against the Dutch nation but against the East India Company. Meanwhile a revolution on a larger scale had been taking place at home. Political dissension had long been rife in the Netherlands. On the one side was the republican party, whose eyes were turned to France; on the other was the conservative or Government party, with the Stadtholder at their head, steadily adhering to the English. In 1788 the governments of Great Britain, Prussia, and the Netherlands formed a triple alliance, and in 1793 the English and the Dutch were drawn into the world-wide war with

France. The old days of single-minded patriotism had passed away from the Netherlands, and the very element which had more than once saved their country now betrayed it. The winter of 1794-5 was one of great severity. The rivers and canals were frozen. The Zuyder Zee was frozen; and a Dutch fleet lay ice-bound and helpless at the Texel. A French army under Pichegru marched over the ice as on dry ground, and at Amsterdam and in other towns the invaders were welcomed by the populace as fellow republicans. In a few weeks the whole of the Dutch provinces were brought under French domination, and the United Netherlands bloomed out in the spring under the new Latinised name of the Batavian Republic.

The Prince of Orange, hereditary Stadtholder of the Netherlands, had taken refuge in England, when his country was overrun by the French; and from Kew he wrote to the governor of the Cape, ordering him to admit into the colony any forces which should be sent by the British Government, 'to consider them as troops and ships of a power in friendship and alliance with their High Mightinesses the States-General, and who come to protect the colony against an invasion of the French.' The letter was dated February 7, 1795, and it reached the Cape in the middle of the following June, brought by a British fleet. The fleet was in charge of Admiral Elphinstone, and it carried a body of British troops, commanded by General Craig.

It is difficult to imagine a more difficult position than that in which Sluysken was placed. He was ignorant of the exact state of affairs in the Netherlands. Two districts of the colony were in revolt against his authority, while in the other districts there was a large number of disaffected residents. The finances were at the lowest ebb. The garrison consisted in great measure of mercenaries of all nationalities. Among the Dutchmen under arms the officers mainly favoured the party of the Stadtholder, while those

CH. III.

The Stadtholder sends instructions to the Cape to admit British troops.

British expedition to the Cape under Elphinstone and Craig.

PART I. whom they commanded were rather on the democratic side. It seemed, and was, hopeless to refuse to accept the offer of British protection, or in other words to decline to place the port and the colony in British hands. Yet Sluysken, though he personally sympathised with the Orange party, felt and rightly felt that his first duty was to the Netherlands. There was no immediate prospect of French invasion, and there was therefore no immediate reason for admitting a British garrison into Capetown. Instructions had reached him from the company in the previous autumn, enjoining watchfulness against any foreign power; and, subsequently to the arrival of the English squadron, he learnt that his country, in its new republican guise, was in alliance with France. Under these circumstances he and his council rejected the proposals of the British commanders, and made what poor preparations could be made to defend Capetown. The burgher forces were called out to support the garrison, and even from the revolted district of Swellendam there came, after some demur, and under promise of amnesty, a detachment of 'Nationals.' It was on June 11, 1795, that the English squadron entered False Bay, and about a month was spent in negotiations and in planning stronger measures. On July 14 a detachment of British troops occupied Simons-town, and on August 7 the Dutch were driven from the position which they had taken up at Muizenberg. Early in September the invading force was strengthened by some 3,000 men under General Clarke, and on the fourteenth of that month they marched by Wynberg on Capetown. Two days later terms of capitulation were finally arranged, the garrison and burghers laid down their arms, and for the time the English became masters of the Cape Colony.

Capitulation of the colony.

Neither the attack nor the defence which preceded the surrender had been very vigorous. The English had no real quarrel with the Dutch. They came to the Cape in the name of the Stadtholder. Their object was not so much to

take the colony for themselves as to prevent its falling into the hands of the French. Their commanders did their utmost to avoid bloodshed; and, even after the fighting had begun, they continued to offer terms. The Dutch settlers, on the other hand, had long been disaffected, unsettled, and insecure. They had little to lose and possibly much to gain by a change of masters. Patriotism forbade them to place themselves willingly in charge of a foreign nation; but the mother-land, like the colony, was in a state of dissolution, and they hardly knew to whom or to what their allegiance was due. One fact alone was clear—that the rule of the East India Company in South Africa had proved a failure; and now, after 143 years, it came to an ignominious end. It had long been time to break with the past, to remove old-world restrictions, to pull down a worn-out structure, which gave no shelter or protection, but only cumbered and confined. Temporary submission to an alien government was hardly too heavy a price to pay for getting rid of the Netherlands East India Company.

CH. III.

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*The rule
of the
Nether-
lands East
India Com-
pany
brought to
an end.*

For nearly a century and a half the Dutch had enjoyed uninterrupted possession of the Cape. The story of the colony now enters on a short period of transition, lasting from September, 1795, when British forces first occupied Capetown, till August, 1814, when the Dutch possessions in South Africa were finally ceded to Great Britain. From September, 1795, till February, 1803, the English were in occupation. From February, 1803, under the provisions of the Peace of Amiens, concluded in the previous year, the Dutch—though not the East India Company—resumed possession for three years. In January, 1806, Capetown was again compelled to surrender to an English force, which held it until the treaty of 1814, at the close of the great war, confirmed in perpetuity British sovereignty over the Cape Colony.

*Period of
transition
at the Cape.*

The seven years and a half, during which the first British

PART I.

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*The first
 British
 occupation.*

*Changes of
 policy and
 governors.*

occupation lasted, were a somewhat troubled time. It could not well be otherwise. Foreign rule, however just, must for a while be distasteful; and in the case in point the incoming rulers had to deal with a people backward when tried by an English standard, and from past experience with good reason suspicious of all who were set over them. There was a change of policy too in these few years, and constant changes in the personnel of the Government. At first it was understood that the English were holding the Cape as trustees, not as absolute owners; and the oath of allegiance to the King of Great Britain was 'for so long a time as His Majesty shall remain in possession of the colony.' As it was a case of temporary military occupation, the first governor was a military officer, General Craig, who governed justly and well. Within a year, however, the British Government intimated that the occupation would be permanent; and then, treating their new possession as a Crown Colony, they sent out a civilian governor, Lord Macartney¹, who exacted from the colonists a further oath of allegiance to the British Crown. After a year and a half Lord Macartney retired, leaving General Dundas, who was in command of the troops, to administer the government. A year later, another civilian, Sir George Yonge, arrived to take charge of the colony. Under his rule corruption and favouritism were rife; and in less than a year and a half's time he was recalled to England to give an account of his stewardship. General Dundas then again administered, until the colony was given back to the Dutch.

*Want of
 a strong
 govern-
 ment in
 the Cape
 Colony.*

These changes had a bad effect. It would have been better if the Cape had remained for a few years under military tenure. The great want was law and order. In the frontier districts there had long been no security for life

¹ Lord Macartney had visited the Cape before. He had served in India and had been on a special mission to China in 1792-4. Sir John Barrow, the author of *Travels in South Africa, &c.*, went with him to the Cape as private secretary.

and property. In the neighbourhood of Capetown life and property had been safe, but the community had not been well ordered in the sense of living under definite, reasonable, and intelligible laws. A strong government obeyed by all alike, understood by all alike, protecting all alike, allowing all, within well-defined limits and subject to such rules as commend themselves to common sense, to buy and sell freely, and to come and go safely, would have been the greatest boon to the colony. When in old days the Romans occupied a country, they made roads from one end of it to another, and encamped their legionaries along the frontiers. They had no thought of turning back, and they governed as for all time. They governed as military men, but they did not as a rule worry their subjects or needlessly interfere with local rights and customs; and under their control lands and peoples which had never been tamed or had run wild, learnt the meaning of law, security, and peace. A few Roman roads, a line of Roman frontier garrisons, and a large unswerving Roman policy would have done much for South Africa.

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Both before and after the capitulation, the English commanders had held out to the colonists the prospect of free trade and an open market, and that promise was in great measure redeemed. Import and export duties were, it is true, levied, except in the case of British goods imported in British ships direct from the United Kingdom; and the English East India Company was given the monopoly of importing goods from the East. But the settlers were now at liberty to trade with whom they pleased, and exchanged their goods freely in open market. Additional relief was given by modifying the auction tax, and by fixing a rate of exchange for the paper money; and, in lieu of the still-born committee of the High Court of Justice, a 'Burgher Senate' of six members was appointed to discharge the advisory and municipal duties which the old board or committee had

Internal reforms.

The 'Burgher Senate.'

PART I. been intended to perform. These measures, coupled with
 ——— the impulse given to trade by the presence of a large English garrison, tended to reconcile the burghers of Capetown and Stellenbosch to the new order of things; and even in the district of Swellendam the national party gave no trouble.

*Difficulties
with the
Graaf
Reinet
farmers*

The farmers of Graaf Reinet, however, were not inclined to submit. They had done with the Dutch East India Company and its rule, and had no mind lightly to give up their independence. Two motives influenced them, their Dutch nationality, and their mistrust of government from Capetown. They were willing, if left to themselves, to be friends with the English, but they were not willing to acknowledge British sovereignty. For more than a year they held aloof, and a military force was actually on its way to Graaf Reinet, before the malcontent settlers, cut off from supplies and ammunition, accepted the inevitable and gave a sullen adhesion to the existing Government. An attempt, which miscarried, had in the meantime been made to supply them with arms and powder from Batavia, and a Dutch fleet of nine ships, with 2,000 men on board, had been compelled by Elphinstone and Craig to surrender at Saldanha Bay without firing a shot.

*and with
the
natives.*

Thus in May, 1797, when Lord Macartney arrived at Capetown, the colony was outwardly at peace; but what has always been a great difficulty in South Africa, the native question in the frontier districts, was still outstanding. The Kaffirs were invited and warned to leave the Zuurveld and return to their own side of the Fish River; but the invitations and warnings, not backed by force, were disregarded. Nor was it the Kaffirs alone who gave trouble. A Hottentot corps, enlisted by the English Government, was sent to serve in the eastern districts; and their coming led to a rising among the Hottentot servants of the Dutch farmers. In 1799, and again in 1802, Kaffirs and Hottentots laid waste the country as far as the present district of George, and

detachments of troops at Graaf Reinet and Algoa Bay were insufficient to protect the white men's herds and homes. In 1799, moreover, and again in 1801, the Graaf Reinet farmers, or some of them, were up in arms against the Government; while, on the opposite side of the colony, a band of Namaqua marauders¹, whose home was on the Orange River, raided the farmers of the north and north-west. It was a time of great trouble and distress; and, before confidence could be restored, the British Government agreed to give back the colony to the Batavian Republic.

CH. III.



The Peace of Amiens was signed in March, 1802. At the time the English were in possession of Ceylon as well as the Cape, both being Dutch dependencies. Ceylon, with the coveted harbour of Trincomalee, was formally and finally transferred to Great Britain; but the Dutch recovered the Cape, with the proviso that ships belonging to those nations which were parties to the treaty should be admitted to and pay no higher duties in the harbours of the colony than the ships of the Batavian Republic. This clause secured free access to Table Bay and False Bay for the ships of the English East India Company.

*The Peace
of Amiens.*

*The Cape
restored
to the
Batavian
Republic.*

Before the days of quick steamers and telegraphs, when

¹ Among those who suffered much from these Namaquas, under their chief Afrikaner, was a band of half-breed Hottentots, who had been gathered together by one Adam Kok, and to whom the Cape Government had granted a reserve in the Kamiesberg. This band was among the earliest of the Griquas or 'Bastards,' afterwards well known in South African history. The Bastards took the name of Griquas after the visit of Mr. Campbell of the London Missionary Society to the Griqua Mission in 1813. In his *Travels in South Africa*, published in 1815, he writes as follows (pp. 252-3): 'The people in this part, being a mixed race, went by the name of Bastards. But, having represented to the principal persons the offensiveness of the word to an English or Dutch ear, they resolved to assume some other name. On consulting among themselves they found the majority were descended from a person of the name of Griqua, and they resolved hereafter to be called Griquas. . . . The whole people likewise resolved that henceforth they should be called Griquas instead of Bastard Hottentots, and the place called Griquatown instead of Klaarwater.' Griquatown is north of the Orange River, not far from its junction with the Vaal, and nearly due west of Kimberley.

PART I. a treaty was in course of making in Europe, and after it had been finally concluded, there necessarily supervened an interval of uncertainty and suspense in a distant colony. Rumours came over the sea of what might be done ; then the colonial government and the colonists learnt what would be done ; later on came the news of what had been done ; and at length instructions followed, detailing how and when the convention or treaty which had been signed was to be carried out. From first to last there was much delay, mischievous to the colonies concerned, for it kept them in a state of tension and unrest. Schemes for better government were often suspended while the future was doubtful, and the partisans of one nation or another, of one system or another, were elated or discouraged, as it seemed that the side with which they had cast in their lot would or would not prevail. Sometimes so long a time elapsed before a settlement was carried into effect out of Europe, that in Europe in the meantime public opinion had already begun to change. The preliminaries of the Peace of Amiens were arranged in October, 1801 ; the peace itself was signed in the following March. The English did not evacuate Capetown till February, 1803 ; and in May, 1803, Great Britain was again at war with France, involving war with the Batavian Republic.

*De Mist
and
Janssens.*

For nearly three years the Dutch still kept the Cape. At least they ended well. The mother-country was powerless to defend the colony if attacked in any force ; and, when war broke out, the best troops in the Capetown garrison were ordered to Batavia. Yet the local administration was sound and respected, the sense of coming danger was not allowed to check progress and reform, and men contrasted, and still contrast, the beneficent rule of De Mist and Janssens with the previous misgovernment of the Netherlands East India Company. For the company was now no more. The Chamber of Seventeen had gone for ever. The Cape was

not even left any longer subordinate to Batavia, but was placed under the direct control of the States-General, the executive and legislative powers on the spot being entrusted to a Governor who was also commander of the troops; and to a Council of four salaried members, one of whom was to be a colonist. No restrictions were placed on the trade between South Africa and the other Dutch possessions, beyond a uniform *ad valorem* duty of three per cent. CH. III.

A civilian, Mr. de Mist, was appointed Commissioner-general to inaugurate the new constitution, and with him went out General Janssens as Governor. For a year and a half the former exercised his authority conjointly with the governor; he then laid down his office, and Janssens ruled alone. Working in harmony with each other, and with a single eye to the public good, these two zealous and capable men spared no pains to promote the interests of the residents in the colony, white and coloured alike. They travelled through the districts, seeing with their own eyes and hearing with their own ears, gaining and giving confidence by personal knowledge and experience. Their views were in some respects in advance of the place if not of the time, for the French Revolution, with all its faults and in spite of all its horrors, had broadened the views and quickened the wits of thinking men in Europe. Civil equality was granted to the adherents of every creed. Provision was made for establishing unsectarian government schools¹. The importation of slaves was nearly brought to an end, and, on the other hand, European immigration was encouraged. The *Their reforms.*

¹ Regulations dealing with public worship and education were passed on July 25, 1804. Two of them are quoted, to show the liberal spirit in which they were conceived. 'All communities worshipping a Supreme Being for the promotion of virtue and good morals shall enjoy in this colony an equal protection of the laws'; and 'The public schools tending for the instruction of youth do not belong to any particular community. They are seminaries for the purpose of forming good citizens for the State, and as such they are under the immediate superintendence and direction of God.'

PART I. district administration and the district courts of justice were reorganised, the duties of the Landdrosts and of the Field-cornets¹ being more clearly defined. Regular postal communication was instituted between the out-stations and Capetown; and a commission was set on foot to improve the breeds of cattle and sheep, and to stimulate the wool industry of the colony. In Graaf Reinet and on the eastern frontier there was once more comparative tranquillity and peace, and the Kaffir chiefs again acknowledged the Fish River as the boundary line, though the Kaffirs who were in the Zuurveld on the Dutch side of the river continued to hold their ground. Lastly, full inquiry was made into the grievances of the Hottentots within the colony; locations were assigned to those who had left their masters and were wandering and homeless; and it was enacted that in future Hottentot servants should be safeguarded by written contracts of service.

*The second
British
invasion
of the Cape.*

Intent as he was on internal reforms, Janssens none the less made preparations to place the colony in a state of defence. His regular troops were few in number and poor in quality, including a battalion of German mercenaries. The other available forces were composed of burgher levies, Hottentot infantry, Malay artillerymen, and, when the actual crisis came, the crews of two French ships. On January 4, 1806, a British squadron was sighted at the entrance of Table Bay. It was a fleet in charge of Commodore Home Popham, carrying General David Baird and 6,000 to 7,000 troops. The expedition had been sent by Pitt and Castlereagh in the late summer of the previous year, secretly destined for the Cape. It attracted but little notice, for great events were passing in Europe. In October Trafalgar was fought, in December Austerlitz, and before this same month

¹ The Field-cornets, originally purely military officers, had also civil duties assigned to them. By the ordinance of 1805, each district was left in charge of a Landdrost, but, under the Landdrost, each ward or subdivision of a district was assigned to a Field-cornet.

of January ended Pitt was dead. The wind blew strong, the surf ran high, and Baird laid his plans to move back to the safer landing at Saldanha Bay. On the 6th, however, calmer weather prevailed, and six regiments, including a Highland brigade, were set ashore on the Blueberg beach, some 18 miles north of Capetown. Janssens led out his motley force to meet them. His following amounted to little more than 2,000 in all, facing double the number of picked British troops. Early in the morning of Wednesday, January 8, the two forces met, and the defenders were soon driven from their position, demoralised by the speedy flight of the hired German soldiers. On the following day Baird marched on Capetown, which offered no resistance, but surrendered on the afternoon of the 10th; while Janssens, with the bulk of his small army, fell back on the hill country of Hottentots Holland, in the vague hope, it would seem, of holding out for a time in the eastern districts of the colony. It was evident, however, that there was nothing to be gained by prolonging a struggle against an overwhelming force. Stellenbosch was promptly occupied by British troops, a regiment was ordered to Mossel Bay, and the farmers who still remained in arms were threatened with confiscation of their property. All that was left was to secure honourable terms of surrender, and such terms the British general was perfectly ready to give. On January 18 a capitulation was signed, by which the whole colony was at once given up to the English, the Dutch officers and their soldiers being guaranteed a safe return to the Netherlands at the expense of the British Government. This condition was faithfully carried out, and on March 6 the last of the Dutch Commanders, the kindly, honest Janssens, sailed for Europe, commending, as he left, to General Baird the colonists whose interests he had tried so hard to serve.

Thus for the second and last time the English took the Cape Colony. In 1795 the attack and defence had been on

CH. III.

—+—

The fight on the Blueberg beach.

General Baird occupies Capetown.

Janssens capitulates.

Comparison of the first and

PART I.
 —+—
*second
 British
 attack on
 the Cape.*

the southern side of Capetown, in 1806 the invaders landed on the north. On the first occasion fighting and negotiations lasted for three months, on the second all was finished in a fortnight. Baird brought with him a stronger force than General Craig commanded, and, having already served in South Africa, he was well able to choose his ground. Janssens on the other hand, though the burghers were with him heart and soul, had practically no material for fighting against disciplined troops. But there was another cause at work to make the second invasion short and decisive. Baird and the government which sent him out knew their own minds thoroughly. The English realised by this time that they were fighting for life and death with France and Napoleon, and were no longer inclined to leave their enemy any possible foothold in any part of the world. The small nations of Europe, and most of the great, had practically become French dependencies, and the day was past for drawing scrupulous distinctions between what actually belonged to France and what was nominally independent though really under her control. A year later the English bombarded Copenhagen and took the Danish fleet. Dutch, and Danes, and many others suffered because of Napoleon. This people and that were losers through the war; but mankind as a whole gained when England gave stroke for stroke, and by timely aggression forestalled a scheme of world-wide despotism.

*The peace
 of 1814.
 The Cape
 finally
 becomes a
 British
 possession
 by right of
 purchase.*

In 1814, after many years of fighting, the nations settled up their accounts, and in the course of the settlement the Cape was finally ceded to Great Britain. The cession formed part of a general bargain, involving transfer of land and change of ownership in all quarters of the world. The Prince of Orange returned to his native land to be 'Prince Sovereign of the United Netherlands,' and to rule Belgium as well as the Netherlands. 'In consideration of the incorporation of the Belgic provinces with Holland,' the Dutch were required to find a certain sum of money, and this

money was paid up by Great Britain as the price or part of the price of the Cape and of the settlements of Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice, now forming the colony of British Guiana¹. The English already held these Dutch possessions by right of conquest, they kept them by right of cession or rather by right of purchase, six millions sterling being the sum named in the convention of August 13, 1814, which is the British title deed to Demerara and the Cape.

CH. III.

There was a certain fitness in this ending to Dutch supremacy in South Africa. The dependency of a trading people and a Chartered Company, which had always been regarded and handled as an item in a trading account, was finally bought and sold. Yet English writers and readers may well appreciate another point of view. A nation that had once been very great lost the making of a colony which had the elements of future greatness. The Dutch lost the Cape Colony partly, it is true, through their own mistakes, but far more in obedience to the iron law of destiny. It was inevitable that such a commanding position on the trade route to the East as the Cape of Good Hope should no

¹ The following is a very general account of the complicated transaction which ended in the English keeping the Cape. On March 3, 1813, the British Government made a treaty with the Swedish Government, agreeing to transfer to Sweden the West Indian island of Guadaloupe, which the English had taken from the French, in consideration of certain trading privileges to be given to British ships in specified Swedish ports. In the following year, however, by the general Peace of Paris, signed on May 30, 1814, it was agreed that Guadaloupe should be given back to France. Compensation was due to Sweden, and it was agreed that such compensation, to the amount of one million sterling, should be made good by Holland out of her colonies then in possession of the English, 'in consideration of the incorporation of the Belgic provinces with Holland.' This compensation Great Britain agreed to pay on behalf of Holland, and in addition to advance two millions sterling towards improving the defences of the Netherlands, and to bear further charges not exceeding three millions sterling towards the general expenses of setting up the new Dutch-Belgian kingdom. In return the Cape and what is now British Guiana were finally ceded to Great Britain, being practically bought for the sum of six millions. The convention between Great Britain and the Netherlands was signed on August 13, 1814, and the corresponding convention between Great Britain and Sweden on the same day.

PART I. longer be held by any power merely on sufferance. It was
 —→ inevitable that a people with longer arms, with greater resources, and with more citizens than the Netherlands possessed, should control and protect South Africa, if South Africa was to be enabled in time to work out its own salvation.

*The Dutch
 guaranteed
 free access
 to the ports
 of the Cape
 Colony.*

One of the articles in the convention of 1814 ran as follows: 'It is also agreed between the two high contracting parties that the ships of every kind belonging to Holland shall have permission to resort freely to the Cape of Good Hope for the purposes of refreshment and repairs, without being liable to other charges than such as British subjects are required to pay.' Why did the Dutch originally go to the Cape? They went there 'for the purposes of refreshment and repairs.' They formed their station at Table Bay, and built and garrisoned their fort, with no intention whatever of owning and colonising South Africa, but simply and solely to ensure that the refreshment and repairs might always be forthcoming. They never lost sight of this one main object. Never, as long as the Netherlands were the Netherlands and not the Batavian Republic, did they forget that refreshment and repairs for ships trading with the Netherlands Indies constituted the real reason for keeping the Cape. To them the colonising of South Africa was but an incident, a doubtful and dangerous incident, in that it involved expenditure of men and money. In the end they lost South Africa, but what they sought at the Cape a century and a half before the treaty of 1814 still secured. The Spice Islands of the East remained the property of the Netherlands; and, if they come or go by the South Sea route, Dutch ships can still refresh and repair at Table Bay, as freely as when its shores were owned by the Netherlands East India Company.

*Retrospect.
 The Cape
 under the
 Netherlands
 East*

The story of the Cape Colony under the rule of the Dutch company seems to teach three lessons, which will perhaps bear repetition in a very few words. It is men who make

states¹—that is the first lesson. The Netherlands could CH. III.
 never spare men and women enough to South Africa. Had —♦—
 the number of Dutchmen who emigrated to the Cape been *India*
 multiplied four or fivefold, a strong community would have *Company*.
 been formed, and the colonists would soon have shaken off
 the mischievous restrictions imposed by the company. The
 story is a warning, in the second place, that trading com-
 panies are meant to trade and not to rule. Companies may
 with advantage plant a settlement and take charge of it in
 its infancy, but after a while company rule is out of place
 and out of time. This applies to all kinds of dependencies,
 but most of all to those colonial communities where the
 ruled, or many of them, are of the same race as the rulers.
 A country where European settlers have made a permanent
 home cannot, after a certain time, be healthily governed on
 the principle of furnishing a regular dividend to shareholders
 in Europe. The third lesson is that it is impossible to
 govern aright one part of the world, when the governors'
 eyes and minds are perpetually fixed on another. 'Where
 your treasure is there will your heart be also.' The treasure
 of the Netherlands East India Company was in the East.
 Their hearts, if they had any, their heads, while they had any,
 were there also.

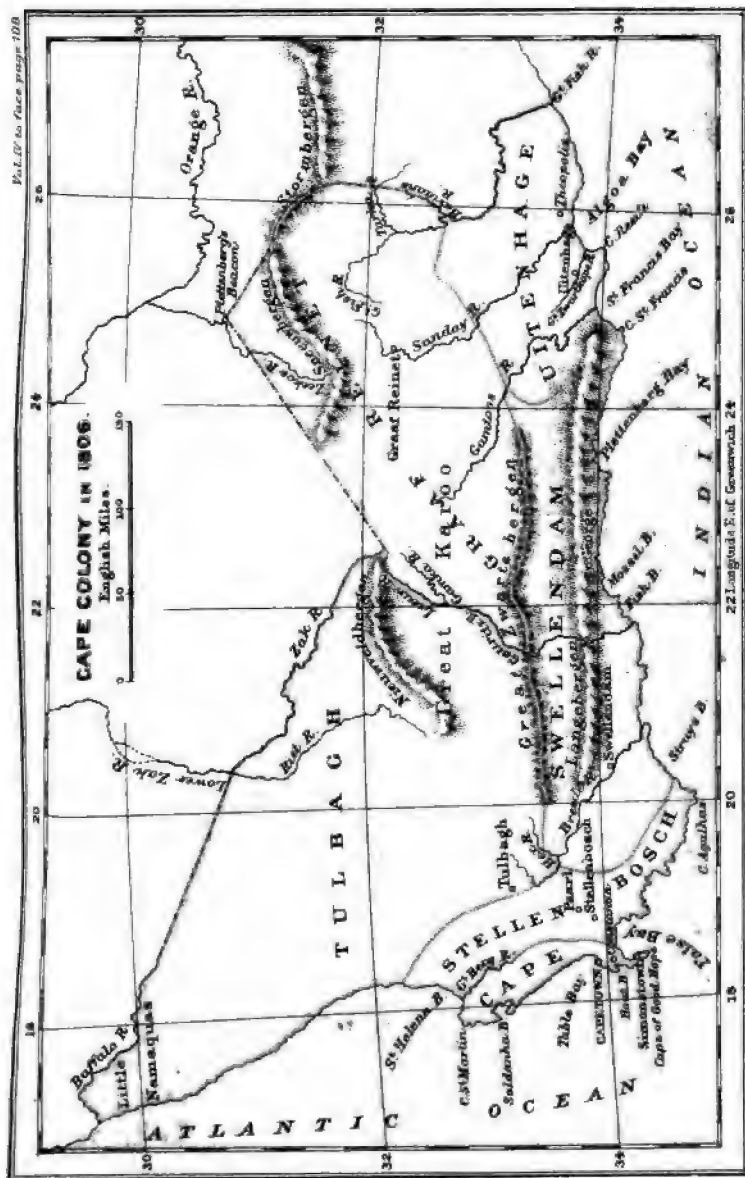
¹ "Ἄνδρες γὰρ πόλεις, καὶ οὐ τείχη οὐδὲ νῆες ἀνδρῶν κεναί.—Thuc. 7. 77.

CHAPTER IV.

THE MISSIONARY MOVEMENT AND BRITISH IMMIGRATION.

PART I. IN 1806, when the Cape Colony came under British control, its eastern boundary followed the course of the Great Fish River upwards from the sea to its junction with the Baviaans River, not far from Somerset East. Thence the frontier line ran east and north, including the greater part of the Tarka River district, until it reached the Stormberg range, an eastern continuation of the Sneeuwbergen. Crossing these mountains, it was carried to the north-west as far as Plettenberg's Beacon on the Zeekoe River, in what is now the Colesberg division; and from Plettenberg's Beacon it ran in a straight line due south-west as far as the source of the Zak River on the northern slopes of the Nieuwveld mountains, over against the site on their southern side, where the town of Beaufort West now stands. The course of the Zak River, flowing to the north-west, was then taken, until it joined the Riet River on the frontiers of the present Fraserburg and Calvinia divisions; and from the junction of these two streams the hills were followed in a more or less straight line to the north-west, until the source of the Buffalo River was reached. That river then formed the boundary down to the sea. Nowhere did the colony, as officially recognised, reach the Orange River, Plettenberg's Beacon being the nearest point. On the western side it stretched much further to the north than on the east; and, dipping down midway in its

—+—
*Boundaries
of the Cape
Colony in
1806.*



course, the northern boundary touched a point below the thirty-second degree of south latitude. CH. IV.

The four districts into which the colony had previously been divided, viz. the Cape, Stellenbosch, Swellendam, and Graaf Reinet, were, in 1804, increased to six. Out of Stellenbosch was carved a new district, the district of Tulbagh, including all the northern and far the greater part of the old district of Stellenbosch; while the northern part of Graaf Reinet and the eastern part of Swellendam were formed into the district of Uitenhage, including the troubled territory which was acknowledged to belong to the Dutch, but was, notwithstanding, in part occupied by Kaffirs. Each district, outside Capetown¹, had its Landdrost, and board of Heemraden; each ward or subdivision of the district was in charge of a Field-cornet.

*Creation of
the Tulbagh
and Uiten-
hage dis-
tricts.*

The civil European population of the colony in 1805 amounted in round numbers to 26,000, 6,000 of whom lived in Capetown. They owned nearly 30,000 slaves, and their Hottentot and half-breed servants numbered 20,000. Barrow, who wrote in the years 1801-4, classes the colonists into townspeople, vine-growers, grain-farmers, and graziers. The corn and the wine were produced within easy reach of Capetown, in the Cape district, including the Zwartland (now Malmesbury) to the north of the peninsula, and on the southern fringe of the Stellenbosch district from the Paarl to Hottentots Holland and False Bay. The vine-growers were in great measure the descendants of French families, preserving the hereditary skill of their Huguenot forefathers.

*Population
and pro-
ducts.*

¹ The Cape district was not given a Landdrost and court of Heemraden till 1809; and then their authority did not extend to Capetown and Simonstown. The functions of the Landdrosts, Field-cornets, and Heemraden are fully described by Mr. Theal in the third volume of his *History of South Africa*, pp. 104-6. The Landdrost was the chief administrative and revenue officer of a district, and president of the court or board of Heemraden. The Heemraden adjudicated on minor civil cases, and managed what would be called in England county business. The Field-cornets were deputies of the Landdrosts.

PART I. The most noted vineyards were within the peninsula, on the farms of Constantia. Cultivation was in the main bounded by the nearest mountain range¹, and the settlers who lived beyond the mountains were pastoral rather than agricultural, belonging to the class of graziers. Exports were in their infancy. The colonists hardly produced more than enough to supply their own wants and the requirements of the garrison and the passing ships. A little wine and brandy was sent out of the colony occasionally, a little grain, and, as half-breed hunters multiplied, hides and skins gradually became an article of export. De Mist and Janssens took measures to improve the breed of sheep and to introduce merinos, but the wool industry was as yet in the experimental stage. Ostrich farming was practically unknown. Whale fishing had always been pointed out as likely to be a source of wealth to the colony, but little had been made of it, and the whaling ships were principally foreign vessels following their calling off the western shores of South Africa, as evidenced by the name of Walfish Bay². The resources of the Cape Colony were in short quite undeveloped. A scanty population was scattered through a great and almost roadless land, wanting means of communication with the civilised world and the moral and intellectual stimulus which such communication gives. To organise or reorganise such a colony, and to bring it into line with modern life was no easy matter; for the Boer character was fully formed, and the South African colonist had become a distinct species of mankind.

*The
religion of*

The Dutch settlers in the Cape Colony were cast in a

¹ There was some cultivation, however, in the Tulbagh valley or Land of Waveren.

² Walfish Bay is a corruption of Walvisch Bay, the Dutch translation of the old Portuguese name Bahia das Baleas (see the third volume of Theal's History of South Africa, p. 31, note). Formal possession of the bay was taken by the Dutch East India Company in 1793, and again by the first English Government of the Cape in 1795. It was finally annexed to the Cape Colony in 1884. Barrow, in his book on South Africa, urged that Table Bay should be made a central depôt for the South Sea whale fisheries.

Puritan mould. Calvinists of the Dutch Reformed Church, CH. IV.
 they were deeply and sternly religious. The Bible was their
 literature—their only literature as years went on. The ^{the Dutch}
 French Huguenots, who joined them, were Calvinists also, ^{and}
 and thus South Africa became the home of Protestants of ^{Huguenot}
 an unbending type, slow to modify their thoughts and ^{settlers.}
 ways, modelled on the Old Testament more than the New.
 Wherever a few houses were grouped together, there was
 a church in their centre, to which the farmers and their
 families gathered at stated times from many miles round.
 ‘In the country,’ writes Barrow rather unfairly, ‘the Boers
 carry their devotion to an excess of inconvenience that looks
 very like hypocrisy. From some parts of the colony it
 requires a week or ten days to go to the nearest church, yet
 the whole family seldom fails in its attendance twice or thrice
 in the year¹.’

However indifferent the directors of the Netherlands East
 India Company may have been to the temporal welfare of
 the colonists, they were at any rate not unmindful of their
 spiritual wants. Calvinism was established and endowed as
 the State religion of the colony. The clergy, duly ordained
 and duly appointed, were paid from the revenues of the
 Company or the State, and not left to depend upon voluntary
 offerings of the congregations. They took precedence next
 to the Landdrosts, and, with assistants styled visitors or com-
 forters of the sick, they carried on religious, charitable, and
 to some extent educational work, and occasionally meddled
 in matters which, if not too high for them, were at least
 outside their province. In Capetown there was a Consistory
 or Ecclesiastical Court, subordinate to the Council of Govern-
 ment. Its constituent members were appointed or approved,
 and its functions were controlled, by the secular authorities
 of the colony. ‘Other sects were tolerated, but they were

¹ Barrow's South Africa (2nd ed.), vol. ii. p. 147.

PART I. neither countenanced nor paid nor preferred by the Dutch¹.

→→→ We read of services of the Church of England being occasionally held by permission in the Dutch church at Capetown, when English ships visited Table Bay, but until 1780 the rule of the colony was that all public worship must be in accordance with the rites of the Dutch reformed religion. In that year the Lutherans in Capetown were for the first time permitted to have a church and clergyman of their own, all the expenses being met by voluntary contributions. There was by this time, indeed there had always been, a considerable German element in the population, and it was from among the Germans that the Lutheran congregation was principally recruited, though their minister was required to be a Dutchman, and was selected by the Lutheran church of Amsterdam². Under the enlightened rule of De Mist and Janssens all religious denominations found protection, and even Roman Catholic services were allowed to be held in the castle of Capetown for the benefit of the soldiers who professed that creed. The permission was withdrawn in 1806, when the English took the colony, but after 1820 complete freedom of public worship was conceded to all sects and to all religions.

*The
Lutherans.*

At the time when it was suggested to the Dutch company to form a station at the Cape, one of the inducements held out was the possibility of converting the heathen³, and in the early days of the settlement praiseworthy efforts were made to give religious and secular instruction to Hottentot and slave children. The annals of the Cape Colony, however, before the closing years of the eighteenth century, give but little indication of missionary enterprise. As the colonists

¹ Barrow, as above, p. 146.

² 'The Germans, who are equally numerous with the Dutch and mostly Lutherans, had great difficulty in obtaining permission to build a church, in which, however, they at length succeeded, but they were neither suffered to erect a steeple nor to hang a bell.' Barrow, as above.

³ See above, p. 23.

were few in number, so the ministers of religion were few, and their time must have been fully occupied in watching over the very scattered constituents of their respective congregations. The community, too, was not progressive. Intellectual activity was wanting. The wheels of life ran heavily in well-known grooves; and religion was neither quickening nor quickened. To maintain and reassert hard and stereotyped doctrines in uncompromising tones and in the ears of men of the same faith and temper, to practise very real charity among compatriots and fellow-worshippers, but not to diffuse it abroad, to resent the intrusion of other Christians however Christ-like, was characteristic of the Middle Ages of the Cape Colony.

When worlds were first discovered beyond the seas, religious enthusiasm knew no bounds. The Reformation soon followed, stimulating spiritual competition among the various Christian sects. Generations passed away, faith grew cold, and in the eighteenth century, except where John Wesley's influence was felt, men ceased to compass sea and land to make proselytes. Yet one small band of Protestants, the United Brethren, never forgot the Divine command to go into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature. Hunted out from their old home in Moravia and Bohemia, about the year 1722 they found a refuge and renewed their brotherhood at Herrnhut in Saxony. The trials they had known seemed to nerve them for more; and from this small centre in a Lutheran land, missionaries went out to the uttermost parts of the earth. In the tropical heat of the West Indies they laboured among the slaves. They founded mission stations in Greenland and on the ice-bound coast of Labrador. Self-denying, uncomplaining, very practical in their goodness, backed by no powerful Church, working with no pomp or show, wherever there is love of God or man the Moravian missionaries should be held in honour. One of them, by name George Schmidt, went to

CH. IV.

*The beginnings of Protestant missionary enterprise.**The Moravians.**George Schmidt.*

PART I. South Africa. His Protestant principles had lately earned him six years' imprisonment in a Bohemian dungeon, and might have ensured a warm welcome in a Protestant land. Welcomed he was, when he first arrived in 1737, and began mission work among the Hottentots on the Zonderend River to the east of Stellenbosch. For five years he taught the natives religion and industry, 'setting them the example, and working at their side in the gardens and fields¹,' but offence was given when he administered the rite of baptism, and he found himself regarded as an interloper and a heretic. Early in 1744 he sailed for Europe, hoping to return with full authority from Amsterdam, but the representations made on his behalf were made in vain, and South Africa saw him no more. It was the old story of monopoly. His was not the Company's form of worship. His ministry was not duly authorised. It was much the same all the world over. The missionary was a little in front of his time.

Nearly fifty years passed before any other Moravian Brethren went out to the Cape. At length permission was obtained from the directors of the East India Company to take up again the work which Schmidt had begun, and at the end of 1792 three missionaries arrived in South Africa, duly authorised to convert the heathen, and to administer the Sacraments. They made their way to the spot where Schmidt had laboured, and found that his name and his teaching were not yet wholly forgotten. The Hottentots gathered round them; a village grew up, outnumbering any settlement in the colony except Capetown; and in spite of some jealousy and friction the mission prospered, respected

¹ From the very interesting Brief Sketch of the Origin, Progress, and Present State of the Missions of the United Brethren in the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, by Mr. H. P. Hallbeck, given on pages 23-7 of a Parliamentary paper of 1835, Papers relative to Cape of Good Hope, Part I. A description of the Moravian settlements at Genadendal and Groenekloof is given in A Journal of a Visit to South Africa, with some account of the Missionary Settlements of the United Brethren near the Cape of Good Hope, by the Rev. C. I. Latrobe, 2nd ed. 1821.

and protected by the governors, English and Dutch alike. CH. IV.
 The site of the station had been known as Baviaanskloof, ———
 'the glen of apes'; on January 1, 1806, it was re-
 named Genadendal, 'the valley of grace.' Noting the good *Genadendal.*
 work which had been done at Genadendal, the Cape
 Government in 1807 offered the Moravians land for a new
 mission station at Groenekloof, about thirty miles to the
 north of Capetown; the invitation was accepted, and the
 new settlement was named Mamre. A few years later the
 brotherhood established themselves in the eastern districts
 of the colony, at Enon in Uitenhage; another station was
 Elim, not far from Cape Agulhas; and yet again, a Moravian
 missionary and his wife took charge of the government leper
 institution at Hemel en Aarde, in what is now the division
 of Caledon. It was almost exclusively among the
 Hottentots that the Moravians laboured in the early days
 of their mission. Like the Jesuits in America, they dealt
 with the natives under their charge as with children, and the
 Hottentots were no more than children in their want of
 steadiness and perseverance, in their incapacity to stand
 alone. Holding aloof from party strife, in no way interfering
 in politics, the brethren and their wives worked soberly and
 sensibly, supplementing religious by secular work, teaching
 the children to read, the women to sew, the men to build
 houses and till gardens, to use their heads and their hands.
 None could say of the Moravians that they did not know
 their own business, and few could say that they did not
 mind it.

The United Brethren were the precursors of other *Other Pro*
 missionaries in South Africa. First among them in order of *testant*
 time, and foremost in importance, were the representatives *missions in*
 of the London Missionary Society, whose connexion with *South*
 the Cape Colony dates from 1799. The Wesleyans began *Africa.*
 their labours in South Africa in 1816, the Glasgow
 Missionary Society in 1821, and the Paris Evangelical

PART I. Society in 1829. Widely spread were these and other mission agencies, both within and beyond the colony the agents worked. In Kaffraria were Wesleyan and Glasgow mission stations. Basutoland was the principal sphere of the French missionaries. But no one tribe and no one district was assigned to or monopolised by any particular society. There was, in a word, a great outburst of Protestant mission energy in the first half of the present century, and the full force of the movement was felt through the length and breadth of South Africa.

The London Missionary Society. In November, 1894, the London Missionary Society celebrated its centenary. One hundred years before, on November 4, 1794, its founders held their first preliminary meeting in the City of London, at Baker's Coffee House in Change Alley. In the following year the society was duly constituted, its one object being to preach the Gospel to the heathen. The basis of the society was, and still is, wholly unsectarian. Churchmen and Protestant Nonconformists of all persuasions supported it; and, though London was its birthplace, various nationalities contributed missionaries to its ranks. The first head of the mission in South Africa was Dr. Vanderkemp, a Dutchman who had studied at Edinburgh University, and among his coadjutors and successors were other Dutchmen, Germans, English, and above all Scotchmen. A mission ship left for the South Sea islands in 1796, and in 1798 Dr. Vanderkemp and three other missionaries left for South Africa, landing at the Cape in March, 1799. Two of them went to the Kaffir country, and two went north to form a station among the Bushmen on the Zak River. After dwelling for a year and a half among the Kaffirs, Dr. Vanderkemp returned into the colony, and in 1803 was given by the government a grant of land for mission purposes not far from the shores of Algoa Bay, near the site of the present town of Port Elizabeth. Here he founded a station for the benefit of the Hottentots,

and named it Bethelsdorp. Bethelsdorp was the first of many missionary centres formed by the London society. Among them were Pacaltsdorp near Mossel Bay, Theopolis in the eastern borderland of the Zuurveld, Pella on the Orange River, Griquatown, and, farther yet to the north, Kuruman in the country of the Bechuanas. Hottentots, Kaffirs, Bushmen, Bastards, all came within the scope of missionary influence; a new spirit was abroad in the land; a new strain entered into South African history. The Gospel was preached by determined men, and the preachers directly or indirectly worked something like a revolution.

How bitter was the feeling between the colonists and the missionaries is recorded and illustrated in many pages of many books. The missionaries asserted that the colonists treated the natives with inhumanity; the colonists maintained that they were libelled. It would serve no useful purpose to gather up the mud which was thrown on either side, to examine the charges and countercharges, to try to assign just praise and blame. The bitterness is in the past and may rest there; and, where opposing advocates have been strong, it may be safely assumed that the truth lies between the two extremes.

There has never been a time in any land, when white men settled in frontier districts, side by side and face to face with savages, without becoming hardened in the process. It is absurd to suppose that colonists, alone among men, pass their lives untouched by what surrounds them, that the European in the backwoods remains year after year the same in thought and feeling as the European at home. When, even at the present day, young men emigrate to some land beyond or on the fringe of civilisation, they go out, as the phrase is, prepared to rough it. They go out, as a rule, because they are readier with their hands than with their heads, because study is less to their taste than adventure, because the freedom of a wild life is to them more attractive

CH. IV.

Bethelsdorp.

Kuruman.

Bad feeling between the missionaries and the colonists.

The colonists.

PART I.

than the refinements and restraints of European society. It is no reproach, it is but common sense to assume that the pioneers of settlement who go beyond the seas are of somewhat rougher fibre than those who stay at home; and when men's lives are lived in the wilds, they cannot always be lived up to the most advanced standard of the most civilised people. Moreover, in the country districts of the Cape Colony, nature and man combined to isolate the Dutch farmers. They were left to protect themselves. They dwelt among slaves and Hottentots; and their neighbours were Bushmen and Kaffirs. The life of the great world flowed on in ever fuller stream, rooting up old and worn-out views, sweeping into the sea of time the debris of the past. It brought from above new soil to overlay the old, and carried into new channels the moving thoughts of men. But the Cape colonists lived on a backwater untouched by the tide; or, if the tide flowed in, as occasionally it did, it but ruffled the surface, and left no freshening under-current to circulate below. There had been no constant incoming of settlers from Europe, no perpetual contact with men from more civilised and more progressive parts of the world. Many of the farmers met each other only at intervals; or, if they met from day to day, it was always a meeting of the same men with the same unchanging modes of thought. The human beings, other than their wives and children, with whom they had most to do, were obviously lower than themselves. Is it conceivable that, under these conditions, men of a very conservative type, in an age when slavery was recognised, should all of them have preserved a lively sense of humanity, that their instincts should not have become dull, that their mental and moral vision should not have been to some extent blurred and overcast?

*The
mission-
aries.*

Among them came the missionaries, stirring and zealous. Their message was more to black men than to white. They came to preach the Gospel of liberty, to proclaim the brotherhood of men. Those who see one object very clearly and

very strongly, inevitably overlook others. The perspective of enthusiasts, especially religious enthusiasts, is usually at fault. They are not all discriminating or discreet. They are inclined to exaggerate, to magnify, and to multiply, to father on a class or a community the occasional wrong-doing of individual men. They are advocates, and being human have the failings of advocates, they emphasise their own case, and are at pains to make it striking and picturesque, leaving to their opponents to state the points of defence. It would be unreasonable to accept without reserve all the charges made by missionaries; for, however good the accusers may be, they are, after all, not angels but men.

CH. IV.

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Every movement which takes place in the world must disturb somebody or something, and the missionary movement in South Africa caused great disturbance. What were the causes which gave it so much strength? and what were its effects upon South African history?

*Causes of
the strength
of the
missionary
movement.*

The Protestant missionaries who, at the end of the last and in the earlier years of the present century, went out to the colonies or to foreign lands were strongly backed at home. It was not merely that they had many friends and admirers in England and elsewhere who sympathised with their aims and with their work, but the work itself represented and embodied a great and growing force not confined to one sect or class or to a single people. There was a deepening conviction that Protestant Christians had been too much engaged in fighting popery at home or in disputing among themselves, and that they had neglected the bounden duty of Christians, to spread abroad the Gospel of Christ. Protestants felt that they had gained and received much, and asked themselves what they had given in return. The answer left them dissatisfied. They began to look out over the fields which lay beyond their shores. Little had been done, they were bound to confess, the harvest was ready but the labourers were few. They combined to found 'the

*Religious
revival in
Protestant
Europe.*

PART I. missionary society usually called the London Missionary Society; they laid down that its 'sole object is to spread the knowledge of Christ among heathen and other unenlightened nations¹,' and soon each denomination in turn sent out its own band of missionaries, and gave men and money without stint to carry light and life into the dark places of the world.

*The growth
of philan-
thropy.*

Hand in hand with the purely religious feeling, and inspired by it, went secular philanthropy. What had colonisation, what at least had British colonisation hitherto meant? It had meant finding new homes over the seas for political and religious refugees. It had meant annexing new provinces to an empire. It had meant taking the lands of the heathen, carrying off their produce, enslaving their inhabitants. War, commerce, slavery, all came with colonisation, but where was justice and where was humanity? Why was Europe always to take and never to give? What was the law under which white men were always to make profit out of black? Europeans, and Englishmen in particular, began to awake like men out of sleep. They began to sicken of a world in which, as in a cock-pit, rival races and religions had torn each other to pieces. They reasoned of righteousness and of judgement, they convinced one another and slowly persuaded their rulers. A moral law was proclaimed and upheld, over and above material interests. The slave trade was attacked and fell, slavery in time was abolished too, war became less fashionable than it had been, and annexation was considered matter for apology.

The missions to the heathen were the outcome of this new spirit, and the missionaries were the vanguard in the onward march of philanthropy. They gave and received the first blows in the foreign campaign. Bold and active themselves, they were strengthened by the knowledge that

¹ From the Plan and Constitution of the London Missionary Society.

there was a powerful and organised force behind them. CH. IV.
 In South Africa, moreover, they must have found many supporters, for the kind of Christianity which they preached was the same kind which was already planted in the land. *Puritanism in South Africa.*
 It was not a case of Roman Catholics coming among Protestants, or of High Churchmen trying to undermine Evangelical teaching. The antagonism which arose was not a religious antagonism, the grounds of dispute had little to do with forms or creeds. Bible Christians were the missionaries, Bible Christians were the colonists. The religious tenets of the two parties, if not always the same, were always closely allied, and moderate men on either side had therefore much in common.

It is impossible to read accounts by and of the African missionaries, without being struck with the intensity of their religious convictions. They went out from home and took with them the Bible, the Book which had wrought deliverance for England and the Netherlands, which the Reformation had given straight back, as from God Himself, to the hearts and the hands of men. They read their own lives into its pages, they translated their African experiences into its words. A little mission-church, with a cluster of native huts around it, was to them a veritable Bethel, and any small addition to a band of converts made them see in their mind's eye rivers run in the wilderness and the desert rejoice and blossom as the rose. Such men counted not their lives dear to themselves; some of them, as was inevitable, courted unpopularity as being a test of truth. Vanderkemp, the first of the London missionaries, would seem on the showing of his own friends to have been eccentric and impracticable, and Dr. Philip, at a later date the most determined champion of native rights, was at no pains to conciliate opposition or to disarm prejudice. But such men were the exceptions, *Their practical ability.* and the large majority of the missionaries were practical and sensible as well as religious men.

PART I. A book published in London in 1827, and entitled
 —♦—
Description by a contemporary of the colonists and of the missionaries. Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa, gives a fair and unbiassed account of colonists and missionaries alike, by one who was himself neither a colonist nor a missionary. The writer, George Thompson, lived for eight years in South Africa, and in the years 1821 to 1824 travelled through almost every part of the country, as far as it was then known. 'After having visited every district of the colony,' he writes, 'and mingled familiarly with all classes of the population, and with the rudest and remotest of the back settlers, I do not hesitate to characterise them generally as a shrewd, prudent, persevering, good-humoured, hospitable, and respectable class of men. . . . I am satisfied that there is a great deal of hearty kindness and substantial worth in the character of the Cape Dutch colonists. Notwithstanding the evil influence of slavery, and of their rancorous hostilities with the Bushmen and Caffres, they are not generally a depraved or inhuman race of men;' and again, in the same chapter¹, 'the very rudest class of the Cape Boers seem to be in many respects superior to the half-savage back settlers in almost every quarter of the Spanish or Anglo-American colonies.' Equally fair and friendly is his testimony to the missionaries and their work. He notes that 'the missionaries labouring among the tribes of the interior are generally persons of limited education, most of them having originally been common mechanics,' but he adds that they were none the less on that account fitted for their special calling, being most of them 'men of good plain understanding and industrious habits.' 'At every missionary station, I have visited,' he continues, 'instruction in the arts of civilised life and in the knowledge of pure and practical religion go hand in hand.' The missionaries 'have without question been in this country not only the devoted teachers

¹ Part III. chap. I.

of our holy religion to the heathen tribes, but also the indefatigable pioneers of discovery and civilisation¹.

CH. IV.



It has been noted above that a large proportion of the missionaries, who were sent out by the London Missionary Society, were Scotchmen, and also that a purely Scotch society—the Glasgow Missionary Society—early took up mission work in South Africa. The annals of the dark continent are rich with Scotch names. From Mungo Park who lost his life on the Niger to Gordon who fell at Khartoum, one Scotchman after another has given himself to Africa. Among travellers, Bruce of Abyssinian fame, Park, Clapperton and Laing, Moffat and Livingstone, Grant and Cameron were all of Scotch descent. It was a Scotchman, Macgregor Laird, who half a century ago organised and promoted British trade on the Niger. It was a Scotchman, Sir William Mackinnon, who a few years back founded the Imperial British East Africa Company, and carried British influence to the headwaters of the Nile. The first British commandant of the Cape was General Craig, his successor in command of the forces was General Dundas, The second and final expedition against the colony was led by Sir David Baird. All three were Scotchmen. In the long list of Scotch missionaries to South and Central Africa Moffat and Livingstone are the best-known names; but Campbell, Read, Philip, Hamilton, Hepburn, and many more, came from the north of the Tweed. There is no doubt that the strength of the missionary movement was in great measure due to the infusion of Scotch blood and to the effects of Scotch training. We trace to this source enterprise and tenacity, endurance and shrewdness, capacity for hard practical work, zeal in controversy. Difficulties, whether physical, social, or intellectual, have always acted as a stimulus to the northern character, and the qualities which

*Scotchmen
in Africa.*

¹ Part II. chap. viii.

PART I. are inherent in Scotchmen were tested and strengthened by the trials and dangers of missionary enterprise. Men of this type put their hands to the plough and looked not back. Strong in themselves and in their religious convictions, warmly supported at home, not without support in the colony, they did a work, the results of which have been beyond question great, though how far the good was mixed with ill is difficult to determine.

*Results of
missionary
enterprise.
Trekking
of the
Boers.*

To the missionaries and their influence has been attributed the trekking or emigration which took place among the Dutch Boers, principally between the years 1834 and 1854, and which resulted in the formation of independent European communities outside the limits of the Cape Colony. The farmers, it is contended, emigrated because they were maligned and ill-treated in their old homes, because the government, under which they had lived, inspired by missionary prejudice, dealt with them unjustly and inflicted upon them unmerited hardship. 'We complain,' wrote one of their leaders, Pieter Retief, in January, 1837, 'of the unjustifiable odium which has been cast upon us by interested and dishonest persons, under the name of religion, whose testimony is believed in England to the exclusion of all evidence in our favour¹;' and the farmers who went out with him from the colony, and established themselves at Winburg in what is now the Orange Free State, bound themselves by an oath to have no dealings with the London Missionary Society².

Trekking, it must be remembered, was no new feature in South African history. Under the Dutch Company's rule the aggrieved farmer moved off into the wilds, and in the last days of that rule the Graaf Reinet settlers, like the emigrants to the Orange River Territory and the Transvaal in later

¹ Quoted by Mr. Theal in his *History of South Africa, 1834-54*, p. 92.

² Theal, as above, p. III.

years, openly declared their independence. Under the Company, however, there was no instance of wholesale emigration from one part of South Africa to another. The trekkers were simply roving graziers, moving occasionally from place to place; and their wanderings rarely took them outside the nominal limits of the Cape Colony. Moreover, when the Graaf Reinet settlers combined to cast off their allegiance to the company, they still professed loyalty to the Dutch nation. It was otherwise with the farmers who fifty or sixty years ago emigrated to Natal, beyond the Orange River, or beyond the Vaal. They went out in organised parties, numbering several thousands in all. They went out avowedly with the view of leaving the Cape Colony for ever, with the intention of no longer being subject in any way whatever either to the colonial authorities or to the Government of Great Britain. They emigrated in order to form republics, in order to become absolutely separate communities. Still it may be doubted whether there ever would have been so great an exodus, if the scene had not been laid in South Africa, and if the actors had not been South African Boers. South Africa was a land, of all others, where men could hope, if so they wished, to live apart from each other. The area was boundless and communication was difficult. At the same time the trials and dangers involved in moving, if great, were at least familiar. The conditions of one district were as a rule not very unlike those of another. It was not a question of going over the sea. It was not in most cases a matter of entering upon a new mode of life. Emigration implied uprooting, no doubt, and a great uprooting for those whose homes had been in the best-settled parts of the colony. But the process of moving on in a waggon, with all its trials and discomforts, was, after all, a well-known process in South Africa. Thus, for evils which were thought to be intolerable, there was in a sense a remedy ready to hand.

PART I.

Nor would perhaps the grievances which led to the Boer emigration have been so deeply felt, and so keenly resented, but for the teaching of past history in the Cape Colony and the evil influence of former misrule upon the Boer character. The traditions of government in South Africa were bad traditions. The colonists never learnt to trust their rulers, but inherited from their fathers and their forefathers suspicion of authority. Government to them meant irritating interference, and laws seemed to be restrictions ignorantly imposed from outside rather than the intelligent expression of the will of the community. Colonists of different temper might have held their ground and waited for better times to come; but, remembering and moulded by the past, the Cape Dutch felt that the cup of bitterness was full, and went out from the colony as from a land of bondage.

*How far
were the
Boer treks
the result
of the mis-
sionary
movement?*

How far should the missionaries, and what they said and did, be held responsible for the emigration? and how far was the emigration an evil to South Africa? To the first of these two questions the answer seems to be, that missionary influence can only be held partly responsible for the events which took place. The missionaries were, as has been pointed out, but the representatives and exponents of progressive public opinion in England and in Northern Europe. They were the men on the spot, but the force behind them was the spirit of the time in the civilised world. Europe had moved further and was moving faster than South Africa, and the European nation which had charge of the Cape Colony was busily engaged in pouring new wine into old bottles. The movement was inevitable. In itself it was sound and healthy. To abolish slavery, to recognise native rights and redress native wrongs, are worthy objects, but good work may be hurried on and clumsily executed. Englishmen are apt to see men and things from a purely English point of view, and make mistakes in consequence. Their own ideas, their own

institutions, at any given time, they imagine to be good for all places and for all times. They overlook differences of race and local peculiarities. They make mistakes, too, because, being of all men least state-ridden themselves, they have a tendency to prefer unofficial and irresponsible evidence and advice to the guidance of officers appointed by the government. Thus they dealt with South African problems as though South Africa had been England and the Dutch Boers Englishmen, and occasionally they gave more heed to the representations of missionaries and philanthropists than to the despatches of governors. The missionaries bore witness, the philanthropists pleaded for the natives. Their advocacy was powerful and gained credence; but the main responsibility for all that followed lay not on them but on the people and the government who decided and who carried the decision into effect.

Was the net result of the Boer emigration a loss or a gain? Did it hinder or promote the European colonisation of South Africa? It widened greatly the area of colonisation. It carried European settlement and European influence far inland. It led to the founding of new colonies, to the occupation of fresh territories. On the other hand, it took away from the Cape Colony, already scantily peopled, a large proportion and a valuable element of its population. The Cape had never been properly colonised. It had always wanted more settlers; and its weakness had been due to the paucity and the dispersion of its European inhabitants. The colony was now further weakened, and the development of its resources was retarded by the loss of a large number of experienced colonists. It is possible that the Boer treks may have accelerated the rate at which South Africa was colonised, but they certainly made the colonisation less thorough, and created new difficulties before those which already existed had been fully mastered. The area of disturbance was enlarged as much as the area of settlement.

CH. IV.



*Were the
results of
the Boer
treks good
or evil?*

*Spread of
colonisa-
tion.*

*Dispersion
of the
colonists.*

PART I. Fresh complications arose with native races. Much was subsequently undone, because it had been badly or imperfectly done; and, instead of slow and steady consolidation, a centrifugal force was set in motion which has not yet been laid to rest. Instead of being united and held together, South Africa was needlessly broken up; war came where there should have been peace; and distance in space increased diversity of feeling.

*Ill-feeling
which led
to and
resulted
from the
Boer emi-
gration.*

The emigration was in itself probably an evil, but a far greater evil was the sentiment which was at once its cause and its effect. Whatever benefits accrued to the Cape Colony from the substitution of British for Dutch rule, the colonists were, after all, most of them Dutchmen, warmly attached to their own nation and their old traditions. It was no easy task for them to transfer their allegiance; and only time and gentle handling could reconcile them to the change. Before they could be fully reconciled, the events took place which led to the Boer treks, and among the emigrant farmers the antipathy of race was aroused as it had not been aroused before. They went out as Dutchmen, as Dutchmen they held together in isolation; and, instead of a wholesome admixture of races, there came into being an animosity between Dutch and English which has worked mischief down to the present day. Nor was this all. The same train of circumstances led to bad feeling between the colony and the mother country, not bounded entirely by the lines of race. English settlers, as well as Dutch, resented the policy of the Imperial Government as laid down by Lord Glenelg¹. Whatever charges were brought against the colonists in their dealings with the natives irritated British residents in the Cape Colony as well as those of Dutch descent. The time for self-government had not yet come; but from the day when the Colonial Secretary at home, in

¹ An account of Lord Glenelg, his policy and despatches, is given in the next chapter, pp. 159-63.

high-handed if high-minded fashion, reversed the acts of the Governor and overrode the convictions of the colonists, there grew up a body of feeling in South Africa not unreasonably antagonistic to Imperial control.

CH IV.

These were some of the harmful results which have been traced, rightly or wrongly, to the missionary movement. But there is very much to be said on the other side. If blame must be imputed to the missionaries, it must not be set down to all of them, nor even to the majority, but only to the few who spoke and wrote while many more worked in silence. And of them all it may and should be said that, over and above their religious teaching, they wrought in many respects untold good. In plain words they awakened South Africa, and they advertised South Africa. At the present day, when of all the provinces of the British Empire South Africa attracts most public attention, when events move faster there perhaps than in any other part of the world, it is difficult to realise a time not so very long ago when the Cape Colony was little known and less valued, when its sole interest in English eyes consisted in its long-standing connexion with the East. As a sphere of European settlement it had slumbered and slept, with a dull heavy sleepiness which blighted the land. It was well, men thought, that England should own it, but not for its intrinsic worth, only because it was on the way to the East. Who were the Cape colonists? A handful of Dutchmen. Who were the Hottentots and Kaffirs? Black savages, degraded or dangerous, interesting it might be to students, as being specimens of the human race, but not to be taken into account in practical politics. The preachers from Europe changed all this. In Africa and in Europe they opened men's eyes. They stirred up the lethargic, if only by rousing the spirit of resistance; they changed indifference into curiosity; they made the heedless and the ignorant care and know. If they created difficulties, they created also the

The missionaries attracted attention to South Africa.

PART I. spirit which surmounts them. If they infused bitterness, as their enemies said, it was at least the pain and the bitterness of living, better than the pleasant torpor of unending sleep. In a few years after the first missionaries appeared upon the scene, there was more vitality in South Africa, and more knowledge about South Africa, than in all the years which had gone before.

The missionaries were the pioneers of discovery.

To these same men was due the progress of discovery. The missionaries were explorers, constantly pushing on to the north, constantly entering new lands and establishing relations with new tribes. They were the pioneers on the present trade route to the Zambesi, through British Bechuanaland and the Bechuanaland Protectorate; they began the movement by which the history of the Cape Colony widened into that of South Africa; and eventually the missionary traveller, David Livingstone, passed on into Central Africa, and linked the story of the southern peninsula to the record of an opening continent. To use a now well-known term, the expansion of the Cape Colony and the expansion of South Africa, or of European civilisation in South Africa, was in great measure the work of the missionaries.

They taught white and black men to live together.

But they did not discover merely. They settled, lived, and worked among the natives. Religion and philanthropy inspired them to do so, and it was not at the time seen, as clearly as it can be seen now, how important, politically, was the work which they began. South Africa had long been, and was to be in the future to a far greater extent, an European dwelling-place, but it still remained and always will remain a home for black men also. In North America, in Australia, the race difficulty has been solved by the substitution of white settlers for coloured aborigines; but in South Africa there was and is no question of extinction of natives. The problem then was, the problem still is, to teach white men and black to live side by side in harmony and peace, and this problem the missionaries half unconsciously set

themselves to solve. There were natives inside the colony and natives beyond its borders. The majority of the former were in a state of dependence, the latter it was the constant aim of the government to prevent from entering the colony and from having any intercourse with the colonists. In neither case had a permanent solution of the native question been found. Any system of apprenticeship, of service by contract, if applied to a particular race, was certain, like slavery undisguised, to break down in time, and it was obviously useless to tell white men to remain on one side of a river and black men on the other. The missionaries worked on wholly different principles. They looked to real as well as nominal freedom, to equality and citizenship, for the Cape Hottentots; they promoted friendly coming and going, and living among the Kaffirs. Their views and their dealings may have been in some cases premature, but they were at least the views and the dealings of the coming time.

Once more, missionary enterprise ennobled South African history by contributing to it an element of the picturesque, a spice of chivalry and romance. That history had hitherto been somewhat uninspiring and uneventful; few names of note were connected with it; few bright or stirring episodes enlivened its pages. Happy, it is said, are the people that have no history; they may be happy, but they do little work for the world; they leave it much as they find it, no better and no worse. Greatness and nobility come with struggle and endurance, and it is only through much tribulation that communities of men and women, like the individual men and women themselves, enter into the Kingdom of Heaven. The courage and the self-sacrifice of the missionaries were evident to all, and those qualities became associated with the land of their labours. Africa became attractive as a scene of adventure, where among wild beasts and wild men noble lives were lived and sometimes lost. Here, as the world was growing older, there was something to seek and something

They brought an element of romance into South African history.

PART I. to find, something which savoured of the days when to
 →→→ awakening Europe the lands beyond the seas seemed bright
 and young. Names to be revered in England were made in
 Africa and by Africa. The record of a man like Moffat will
 not lightly be forgotten ; and schoolboys turn from old-
 world romance to the heroism of later days, and dream to
 mould their lives on that of Livingstone.

*British
 immigration
 and
 the Albany
 settlement.*

While missionary work in South Africa was still in its
 infancy, and before the full effects of the movement had been
 felt and known, a large body of British immigrants was
 introduced into the Cape Colony. Philanthropy, which had
 given birth to the mission agencies, was responsible also, at
 any rate indirectly, for this immigration. Long years of
 war had at length come to an end, and in England a time
 of reaction followed, of distress and want of employment.
 Emigration was then, as often before and often afterwards,
 suggested to relieve the unemployed. The Cape was known
 to be in want of colonists, and, being a new acquisition, its
 merits as a field for settlement were extolled, while its dis-
 advantages were minimised or unknown. The Colonial
 Government had a special object for wishing to secure
 a reasonable number of suitable emigrants, as it was emi-
 nently desirable to fill up with Europeans the frontier districts
 on the East, in order to provide a permanent living barrier
 against the incursions of the Kaffir tribes. Artisans were
 at the time in question in great demand at the Cape. In
 1817 some two hundred Scotch mechanics, who were
 brought into the colony by Mr. Benjamin Moodie, under
 terms of three years' apprenticeship, were easily disposed of,
 with profit at once to the contractor and to themselves ; and
 at the same time several hundred soldiers and sailors took
 their discharges in South Africa, and had no difficulty in
 finding employment. Accordingly the Imperial Government
 determined to encourage emigration to the Cape, and thereby
 at once to relieve the labour market at home, and by an

*Demand
 for Euro-
 pean
 artisans at
 the Cape.*

infusion of British blood to strengthen their hold upon their lately acquired dependency. In 1819, Mr. Vansittart, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, proposed to the House of Commons that a sum of £50,000 should be voted for the purpose; the proposal was supported by Mr. Hume, and adopted with little criticism; and in 1820 a large number of emigrants arrived in South Africa. Colonisation, rather than emigration pure and simple, was the object of the scheme. In other words, the government wished not so much to send out to the Cape a number of isolated individuals who should on landing be left to their own devices, as to despatch, in charge of responsible directors, parties of men or of families who should be associated together on the voyage and be located together after arrival. The sum voted by Parliament was intended to defray the cost of passage; free grants of land were to be made at the rate of 100 acres for each head of a family, titles to which were to be issued after three years' occupation; and deposits at the rate of £10 per head were required on behalf of each adult male before leaving England, which sums were to be refunded after the emigrants had reached South Africa, one third on landing, one third on taking up their holdings, and the balance three months afterwards.

CH. IV.

*Terms on
which the
Albany
settlers
were sent
out.*

Schemes of colonisation rarely, if ever, succeed on the exact lines which are laid down beforehand. They imply settlement in a new country, and therefore settlement under conditions which cannot all be foreseen. It is hopeless to attempt to fix emigrants on certain spots, to map out for them their mode of life, to forecast what they will earn, to determine what they shall pay or repay. The unexpected happens; a township springs up in another district; a mine is discovered; a rich harvest elsewhere in the same colony, or beyond the borders in a neighbouring country, attracts the new comers away from the sites of their intended homes; numberless are the causes which undermine a preconceived plan, however well thought out and elaborated in detail.

*Defects of
the scheme.*

PART I. Mistakes too are often made in the selection of emigrants, and in the terms upon which they are selected. It is, in a word, absolutely impossible to take a body of men from one country to another, and set them out like so many plants, in well ordered rows, at equal distances from one another. What usually happens is that the original scheme breaks down, but the colony, or the territory of which the colony forms a part, keeps all or most of the settlers. They live in the land, but they live where and as they please. The work of colonisation is carried out, but not in the way which had been intended.

The number of British settlers who landed in South Africa in 1820 and 1821 was nearly 5,000—too many for the Cape Colony to absorb healthily at one and the same time. There were Scotchmen among them, and Irish, and a few Welsh, but the majority were English. The Irish emigrants, or most of them, were landed at Saldanha Bay, and located near Clanwilliam, in what was then the Tulbagh district. This settlement proved a complete failure. The others, not far short of 4,000 in number, were carried on by sea from Capetown to Algoa Bay, and thence transported 100 miles inland to the Zuurveld, which had been in 1814 renamed Albany, and where the village of Bathurst, called after the Secretary of State for the Colonies, was now laid out to be the centre of the new colony.

The settlers were of various callings, and little forethought had been shown in their selection. It happened then, as it usually happens, that the people whom the old country could spare were in great measure not the people whom the new country needed. There were men among them who had capital; some were retired professional men, who brought their savings to invest in South African farms; others had had a commercial training; the largest number were mechanics. Few, if any, were skilled agriculturists, and knowledge of English farming after all gave little insight

into the conditions of agricultural or pastoral life in the Cape Colony. Difficulties at once arose. The cost of land transport, which the emigrants were intended to defray themselves, proved to be very heavy; and, though this expenditure was eventually met from public funds, little of the deposited money was returned to the depositors, as for a long time it was found necessary to supply them with rations of food, while they were engaged in a sore struggle for existence. There was squabbling and discontent among the settlers. The limit of 100 acres was far too low for a holding in a district like the Zuurveld—a pastoral rather than an agricultural district, where large sheep or cattle runs paid better than cultivation of the soil. The first three years were years of blight which killed the growing grain, and there followed a season of floods, washing away houses and soil. So great became the distress that a relief society was formed at Cape-town, and large subscriptions were raised within and without the colony to meet the needs of the penniless and almost homeless settlers. In the end, a large number, especially of the mechanics, left their locations and moved off to Grahamstown, then a young and thriving centre, and to the other towns of the colony, in all of which wages were high and artisan labour was wanted. The remainder, who held their ground, saw the dawning of better days, and on enlarged holdings, with experience gained through suffering, made their way at last to comfort and content, and became in time prosperous citizens of the Cape Colony¹.

The years 1820 and 1821, when these British immigrants arrived, form a distinct land-mark in the history of the Cape. From this time onward there was a strong and growing British element in the population. Henceforward the colony

CH. I

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Misfortunes of the settlers.

Political results of the Albany settlement.

¹ Some account of the Albany settlement will be found in the State of the Cape of Good Hope in 1822, by a 'Civil servant' [London, 1823], and in George Thompson's Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa.

PART I.

—♦—
*The
 Eastern
 province
 became an
 English
 colony.*

was no longer merely a Dutch and German community governed by English rulers, but a dependency belonging to Great Britain in virtue of settlement as well as by right of cession. The immigrants were placed in the Eastern districts, and those districts became and remain to this day the most English part of the colony. Always more or less cut off from the old Dutch station in the Cape peninsula and from its earlier off-shoots—a border-land, where a few white men lived from hand to mouth in the neighbourhood of savage tribes, these districts gradually became more or less self-centred, settled and civilised by incomers of British race. For a long time it was a question whether the Eastern province or provinces should not, for administrative purposes, be entirely separated from the Western, and be, like Natal, constituted a separate colony; and, though separation was never fully carried out, the difference was clearly marked between the older and Western settlements whose nucleus was Capetown, and the younger settlements in the East whose outlet was Port Elizabeth on Algoa Bay. It was like the difference between Upper and Lower Canada, the English speaking province of Ontario and the older French province of Quebec; but happily the distinction never developed into such strong antagonism as for a while embittered the history of Canada. After all, the Dutch and English settlers were near akin in race; they were practically one in religion; their traditions were traditions of rivalry, but of rivalry between members of the same family; they lived in and out among one another on their farms and homesteads; and Capetown, the one town of any size in the colony, was a meeting place for all sorts and conditions of men. Any ill-feeling which grew up in after years within the colony was not due to the presence of English colonists among the Dutch. It was due to the fact that European views, the views of the rulers, did not always harmonise with South African views, the views of the ruled.

The weak point of the Cape Colony was the paucity of its European population. This weakness the introduction of 5,000 British settlers, the forerunners of many more, did much to remedy; and the fact that they were placed mainly in the Eastern districts, away from Capetown, was important in at least two respects. In the first place it was a long step forward in the direction of colonial expansion, in the great though gradual movement by which the Cape peninsula was being merged in the Cape Colony, and the Cape Colony widening into South Africa. As the emigrant ships moved on from Capetown to Algoa Bay, moving still east, they yet seemed to be carrying away the vestiges of the time when there was nothing but the trading station and the port of call, they seemed to be bringing life and light along the southern coast of Africa, into its bays and estuaries, as the missionaries were carrying life and light into the interior. Colonisation was beginning as it had hardly begun before, and men began to realise that South Africa was more than the Cape. In the second place the scene of the Albany settlement was on the border of the Kaffir country, and therefore the British settlers were directly confronted with the Kaffirs. It was the most practical way that could have been devised of making the English for good or ill take over the difficulties with which the Dutch had had to contend. Thenceforward the native question was one in which Englishmen were interested, not as a matter of state policy merely, but as affecting English homes and English lives. Thenceforward it could not be fairly said that an alien government legislated and regulated for colonists of another race, who alone felt the burden of the laws and the regulations: the strain came on Englishmen as well as on Dutch, both were exposed to the same dangers and to much the same criticisms, their difficulties were one and the same, they shared a common resentment, and community of feeling and interest tended to some extent to obliterate distinctions of race.

CH. IV.

—+—
*The Albany
 settlement
 greatly
 strengthened
 the
 European
 population
 in the
 Cape
 Colony.*

PART I.

—♦—
*Slavery
 prohibited
 in the
 Albany
 district.*

Slavery was still in force in the Cape Colony when the British immigrants arrived, but free labour was made the rule in the Albany settlement. Here too was a step in the right direction, the undoing not merely of a moral wrong but of a great economic mistake. A land, where British workmen could and would work, was sure to become a land of freedom. Forced labour was doomed as soon as free labour from a free country came pouring in. And with the freedom came the sense of responsibility, and the jealous spirit of independence, not resenting that there should be law and government, but gradually insisting that the law should be home-made and that the government should reflect the wishes of the governed. Half a century was yet to pass before the Cape became in the fullest sense a self-governing colony, but the seeds of self-government were sown, when a strong body of Englishmen came out, trained, as Dutchmen never had been trained, to value representative institutions, law abiding because law to Englishmen meant liberty, carrying into South Africa the spirit and the traditions which had moved and are still moving the world¹.

*Beginning
 of modern
 history in
 South
 Africa.*

The modern history of South Africa dates from the time when the Cape Colony was taken under the protection of Great Britain. A new era then began: the colony entered on a new life, with a future opening out before it greater and stronger than had been its past. Of the causes or events which influenced the coming age, which regenerated and revolutionised an old-world settlement, the most important

¹ 'The introduction, however, of the English settlers, and the right of free discussion which they have claimed and exercised, together with the bold defiance they have given to the suspicions entertained of their disloyalty and disaffection to the government, have had the effect of exciting in the Dutch and native population a spirit of vigilance and attention that never existed before, to the acts of the government, and which may render all future exertion of authority objectionable that is not founded upon the law.' From the Report of the Commissioners of Enquiry upon the Administration of the government at the Cape of Good Hope, dated September 1826. Printed for the House of Commons in 1827.

were those to which the present chapter has been devoted, CH. IV.
the missionary movement and the introduction of British
immigrants; and therefore they have been noticed first, not
strictly in order of time. There is rarely, if ever, a sudden
break with the past. Men live their lives in continuity from
day to day and from year to year. But we can trace land-
marks in the stories of communities, standing out more dis-
tinctly after the lapse of time; and forces or occurrences, not
necessarily in themselves very great or very noticeable, are
found under special conditions to have coloured a history
and to have changed a people.

CHAPTER V.

THE KAFFIR WARS.

PART I. **FOR** some years, from 1806 onward, the government of the Cape Colony was a pure despotism. All the legislative and executive power was vested in the Governor. The Burgher Senate, it is true, remained in existence at Capetown charged with municipal duties, some of them, as for instance the regulation of prices, by no means unimportant; and the districts still retained their Landdrosts and Heemraden; but even in judicial matters the Governor was supreme, responsible for his actions to the British Government alone.

Constitutional changes.

In 1825 this system was slightly modified. A council of Advice was then appointed, answering to the Executive Council of an ordinary Crown colony at the present day. It consisted of six members, all civil or military officers of the government, and to it were submitted in the first instance any ordinances which the Governor proposed to enact and any proclamations which he intended to publish. He was required to consult his council on such matters, but he was not bound to take the advice offered to him, if he saw good reason to the contrary. Three years later, in 1828, two colonists were nominated to the council in place of two of the officials. This council only lasted for a short time; for, on October 23, 1833, letters patent were issued, giving to the Cape a regular constitution as a Crown colony. An Executive Council was created, composed of four high officers of the government in addition to the Governor; and

a Legislative Council was added, consisting of the Governor and not less than ten nor more than twelve other members, five of whom were salaried officers holding their seats *ex officio*, while the others represented the unofficial element, being nominated by the Governor and confirmed by the Crown. Thus the colonists first began to have a voice in making the laws under which they lived.

CH. V.



More sweeping judicial reforms had already been carried out. Lord Caledon governed the colony from May 1807 till July 1811, and shortly before he laid down his office he issued a proclamation ordaining that Judges of the High Court should occasionally go on circuit through the country, trying important cases and supervising the local jurisdiction of the Landdrosts. It was a step in the right direction, a measure tending to secure expert and honest administration of justice; but in the main the judicial system of the colony was unchanged until the year 1827. In August of that year a new charter of justice was issued, taking effect from the following first of January. A Supreme Court was established consisting of a Chief Justice and three, afterwards two, puisne Judges, all appointed by the Crown and wholly independent of the Executive. The lower courts were at the same time remodelled, the Burgher Senate was swept away, the Landdrosts and Heemraden disappeared, and their place in the various districts was taken by Civil Commissioners and Resident Magistrates. English procedure was followed, and the English language became the language of the law-courts. It was beyond question a great reform. The Cape colonists gained the security, which Englishmen knew and valued, of law and justice clearly defined and fearlessly administered, uncontrolled by the will or caprice of the governor for the time being; yet it was a novelty, and therefore to some extent a disturbing element, and it involved the abolition of certain forms and institutions to which the colonists had been for many years accustomed. Most of all,

PART I. the substitution of the English language for the Dutch in
 —+— all official and legal matters caused not unnaturally some
 irritation and alarm.

The Cape and the East India trade. Various Orders in Council and statutes were passed in Great Britain between the years 1806 and 1835, regulating or affecting the trade of the colony. Among them was the Imperial Act of December 17, 1813¹. By the third section of this Act the Cape of Good Hope was, as to the Indian trade but not for other purposes, deemed to be within the limits of the charter of the British East India Company. The colonists were thereby given for a while the privilege of unrestricted trade with the East Indies exclusive of China, provided that the merchandise was carried in British ships; and, though no great benefit appears to have resulted in consequence, the provision is historically interesting as an illustration that the Cape was still considered to be specially connected with the East and with the Chartered Company which held the East in fee.

The Cape and St. Helena. The great war ended with the banishment of Napoleon to St. Helena. As long as his life lasted, that island was strongly garrisoned, and the supplies for the garrison came in great measure from the Cape. A temporary impetus was thus given to agriculture in the colony, and the farmers found a ready market for their grain, their stock, and their wine. Unfortunately for them the demand was not long lived, no longer than the life of the captive emperor. When he died, the St. Helena garrison was speedily reduced, and the colony which had fed them found one great source of profit at once cut off. A period of commercial depression at once followed, coinciding with unfavourable seasons, and the paper currency was so depreciated in value that at

¹ 54 Geo. III, cap. 34, sec. 3. The marginal note to the section runs as follows: 'Cape of Good Hope as to India trade deemed within Company's limits but not for other purposes.' This Act supplemented an Act passed in July of the same year continuing the charter of the East India Company [53 Geo. III, cap. 155].

length in 1826 it was partially redeemed by the government, at 1s. 6d. to the rix dollar which was nominally worth four shillings. CH. V. →

In 1808 the total population of the colony was taken to be 74,000, and in 1815 over 83,000. In 1818 the total estimate was nearly 100,000. Of this number about 43,000 were free citizens in the ordinary sense, including 2,000 black men; the Hottentots numbered 23,000, and the slaves 32,000, while between 1,300 and 1,400 were returned as apprentices. In 1822, after the introduction of the Albany settlers, the population was in round numbers estimated to be not far short of 120,000. *Population returns.*

During the first thirty years of British rule wine continued to be the principal export of the colony, the industry being greatly stimulated by a system of differential duties in England, which favoured Cape wine as against the wines of foreign countries. In 1831, however, the duties were modified; and, though still given some preference over foreign competitors, the Cape wine growers were unable to maintain their position, and the export fell off in consequence. Wool, on the other hand, about the same date became a growing article of trade; hides and skins were second only to wine in the list of exports; and the production of grain from 1831 onward showed for some years an increase. *Products.*

With the foundation of the Albany settlement the Eastern division of the colony grew in importance, and a considerable proportion of the colonial produce was shipped from Port Elizabeth. In 1828 the colony was divided into the Western and Eastern provinces. Both were still subordinate to one and the same government, whose headquarters were at Cape-town, but the Eastern province was for a few years given a special officer, styled Commissioner-general, who was intended to exercise under the Governor more immediate and local control over the outlying districts on the eastern frontier, and especially to watch over the relations between *The districts of the colony.*

PART I. the Kaffir tribes and the border colonists¹. The Eastern province contained the districts of Beaufort, Graaf Reinet, Somerset, Albany, Uitenhage, and George. Of these, the district of George, formed in 1811, included that part of the old division of Swellendam which lay to the east of the Gauritz River, having Mossel Bay and the Knysna within its border. The district of Beaufort was created in 1818. Geographically the most central district in the colony, it comprised the eastern part of the old Tulbagh division and the western part of Graaf Reinet. On the extreme east of the colony were the two border districts of Somerset and Albany, the former dating from 1825 and including a portion of Graaf Reinet, together with some land ceded by the Kaffirs in 1819, the latter formed in 1820 and coinciding in the main with the Zuurveld². In the Western province were the districts of the Cape, Simonstown, Stellenbosch, Swellendam, and Worcester. The Simonstown district, including the southern half of the Cape peninsula, was, in virtue of the growing importance of Simons Bay and the town upon its shores, separated from the Cape district in 1814, but twenty years later was again re-annexed to the Cape. Worcester was the old Tulbagh division, renamed in 1822, and in 1824 deprived of the tract of land known as Piquetberg, which was added to the district of the Cape.

*Extension
of the
colony.*

On the north and north-east the limits of the colony were by the year 1824 considerably extended. The Beaufort district stretched far beyond the Zak River up to the Pramberg: while, on the north-east, Plettenberg's beacon was left behind, and the Orange River formed the boundary for many miles, from the Stormberg Spruit, past the confluence of the Caledon, and again of the Zeekoe River, as far as

¹ The office of Commissioner-general for the Eastern province was abolished from January 1, 1834, but was revived in the form of a Lieutenant-governor from 1836 to 1847.

² The name Albany was given to the Zuurveld in 1814, but the tract in question was not created a separate district till 1820.

24.20 degrees of east longitude. On the east, after the Kaffir war of 1818-19, the Colonial Government declared that the Keiskamma, instead of the Great Fish River, should in future be the boundary between the white and the Kaffir races.

CH. V.



The acquisition of the Cape gave to the British Government a new dependency in which slavery was recognised by the law of the land. Slavery in the Cape Colony was, on the one hand, less inhuman, and on the other hand more out of place than slavery in the tropical colonies. It was not in the Cape Colony, as it was in the West Indies and Mauritius, the basis of the whole social system; and Orders in Council framed for the protection of slaves in the sugar plantations were found to be unsuited to the very different conditions of South Africa. The connexion of the Cape with the East Indies had much to do with the introduction of slavery, many of the slaves, and the most valuable among them, being Malays brought over from the Dutch islands in the Eastern seas. In the year after the Cape was taken by the English, the Imperial Government passed the Act for the abolition of the slave trade. The importation of slaves ceased, and instead there came into the colony a certain number of free black men, rescued year by year from slave ships and landed in South Africa. Though the slave market was no longer recruited from beyond the seas, and though emancipation was by no means uncommon, the slave population of the colony still continued to increase—a proof, if proof were needed, that humane treatment was the rule and not the exception. In 1808 the number of slaves in the colony was under 30,000, in 1818 it was 32,000, in 1822 34,000, in 1834, when slavery was abolished, 39,000. But, in spite of this growth of numbers, there can be little doubt that, even if there had been no pressure from outside, slavery would in no long time have become extinct. As the deathblow to the transportation system in the case of

*Slave
emancipa-
tion.*

PART I. Australia was given by the discovery of gold and the consequent influx of free English miners, so it is difficult to believe that slavery in British South Africa would have long survived the foundation of the Albany settlement, where slavery was forbidden and unknown, and the gradual leavening of the population by a strong admixture of European wage-earners. But the question was, rightly or wrongly, probably rightly, not left to settle itself. Wherever British rule held good, there it was ordained that slaves should be set free. The tentative measures which were passed restricting slavery, before the final Act of Emancipation took place, had the effect at the Cape, as elsewhere, of causing a considerable amount of friction which might perhaps have been avoided, and it may fairly be argued that too little attention was paid to local conditions, that slavery was assumed to be uniform all the world over, the same on the plantations of Jamaica as in the towns or on the farms at the Cape. But, whatever might have been done or left undone, so great a change could not possibly have been carried into effect, without causing much ill-feeling and some distress; and, looking back on history, it is impossible to regret that a decisive step was taken once for all, stamping out even in high-handed fashion and with mistakes in detail an evil with which no compromise could be wished. What mainly angered the Cape colonists was the inadequacy of the compensation which was awarded in their case. The value of the slaves on Dec. 1, 1834, when the Emancipation Act came into effect, was estimated by commissioners specially appointed for the purpose at three million sterling. The sum allotted by the Imperial Government was no more than one and a quarter million, payable, not in South Africa, but in London, and with a deduction of any expenses incurred in carrying out the work of emancipation. The result was to impoverish the former slave owners, and to awaken in them a bitter feeling of resentment against the government which had deprived them of their

*Inadequacy
of the com-
pensation
made to the
slave
owners.*

property, and against the philanthropists by whom the policy of emancipation had been inspired. Their bitterness and disappointment was not unreasonable. Wherever slave emancipation took place, the existing slave holders were to some extent punished for the sins of their fathers; and at the Cape there was the knowledge that the system had led to comparatively little abuse, justifying a hope that the terms of abolition would at least be fair and might be liberal.

It was sought to supplement the Emancipation Act by a local law against vagrancy, in order to ensure that the newly freed slaves should not wander at large through the colony and swell the number of the unemployed. An ordinance to that effect was actually passed by the colonial legislature, but, being represented as an attempt to revive slavery by compelling the coloured population to work, it was disallowed by the Imperial Government. Vagrancy was the normal condition of a large proportion of the Hottentots in the Cape Colony. They had ever been a race of wanderers, wandering, it is true, in earlier days, in parties or clans, but rarely, if ever, making a settled home. They were difficult to deal with for this reason, and, the more disorganised they became in course of years, the greater the difficulty became. In tracing out the relations between white men and black in South Africa, it is necessary always to bear in mind that the natives were themselves largely responsible for the misfortunes which befell them. The Kaffirs exterminated one another wholesale. The Hottentots suffered far more from their own shortcomings than from the force or policy of the European colonist. There was no system existing among the Hottentots which could be utilised to give them protection and strength. Their chieftains, when they had any, were leaders of banditti rather than heads of tribes. They had customs but not laws. Their normal condition was one of anarchy, not because they had been definitely broken up, but rather because they had never really learnt to rule and

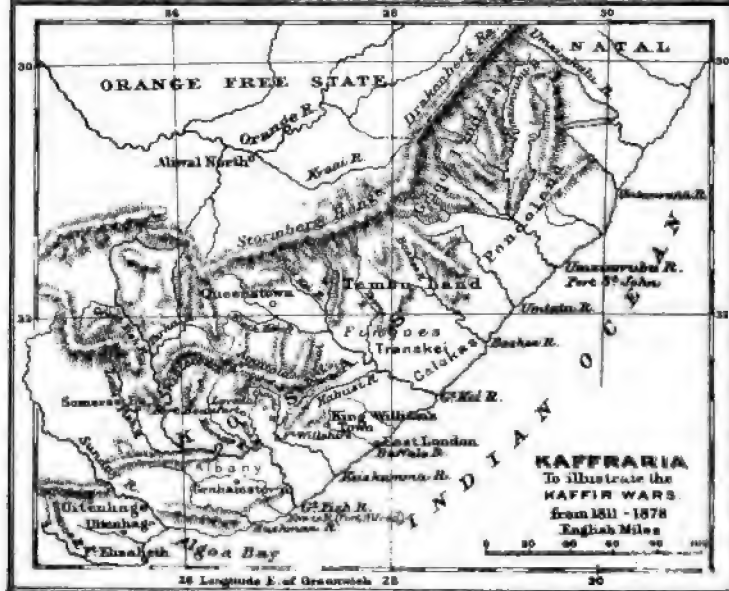
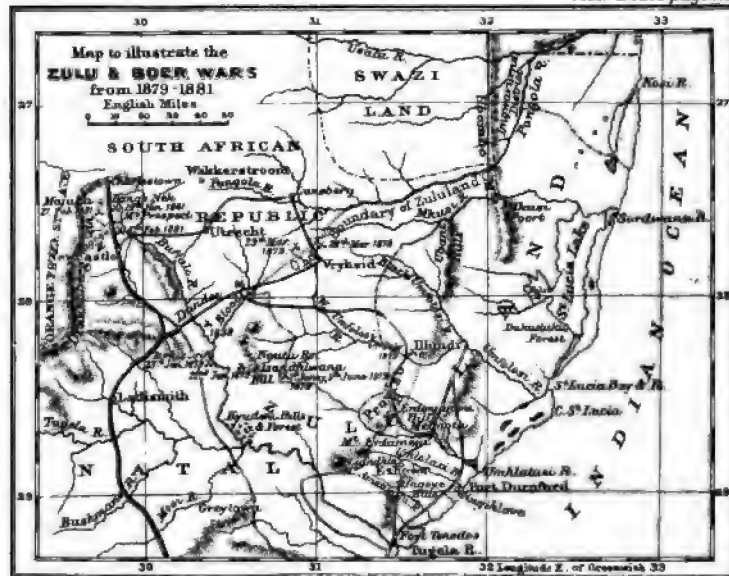
CH. V.

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*Vagrancy
in the Cape
Colony.**The
Hottentots.*

PART I. be ruled. Men often misinterpret history by talking and
 —*— thinking of a collection of tribes as if it were a nation, but even the tribal unit hardly existed in the case of the Hottentots. They were simply a race, and a race which, as years went on, became less and less definite. Attempts were made to assign them locations and reserves, but the only effective settlements were under European guidance and missionary control. In the eye of the law they had always been a free people, but they were not members of the community in the same sense as the white men; they were not amenable, so far as their dealings with one another were concerned, to the jurisdiction of the courts of the colony; they paid no taxes; they were not citizens in the ordinary meaning of the word.

In 1809 a change was made in their position. Lord Caledon issued a proclamation laying down that every Hottentot in the colony should have a fixed place of abode, and that none should change their residence from one district to another, or move about the country, without written permission. In this way it was hoped to check their vagrant habits and attach them to the soil; they were treated henceforth as resident citizens subject to the ordinary law, and any remains of chieftains' authority or of tribal customs were finally swept away. Many Hottentots were in service to farmers, and in 1812 it was enacted that the children of such servants, if born while the period of service continued, should be themselves apprenticed for a term of years. It was an enactment which savoured of serfdom, but the object was again the worthy object of encouraging settled life and industrial habits among the members of a vagrant race. As years went on, however, the spirit of the time resented the restrictions which the proclamations of 1809 and 1812 had imposed, and in 1828 an ordinance was passed by the colonial legislature—afterwards well known as the fiftieth ordinance—by which the system of passes and certificates, and the system of apprenticeship of children, were alike



abolished. Thenceforward all free coloured persons within the colony were free to live, free to come and go, in the same manner as Europeans; and with the freedom came unlimited vagrancy.

CH. V.



Kaffir wars recurred in the history of the Cape Colony, like so many epidemics. When the English took the Cape, they found Kaffir clans established far within the colonial borders, and in 1808 a Kosa chief built a kraal to the west of the Gamtoos River, occupying or raiding the coast country nearly as far as Plettenberg Bay. As matters stood, it was necessary for the white men either to give up to the black the whole district of Uitenhage—a district which formed an integral part of the colony, or to drive the Kosas back behind the Fish River, the long-established and little-regarded boundary between the two races. The latter alternative was adopted. Burgher levies were called out, supplemented by the Cape regiment—a regiment of Hottentots—and by a few European soldiers; and a short campaign at the end of 1811 and the beginning of 1812 ended in clearing the colony of some twenty thousand Kosas. To prevent their return, a line of military posts was established along the frontier, the headquarters of the troops being named after their commander, Colonel Graham; and in a few years' time, after the foundation of the Albany settlement, Grahamstown became one of the growing towns of the colony.

*Kaffir wars.**The campaign of 1811-12.**Grahams-town.*

Still the Kaffirs trespassed over the line, and in 1817 the Governor, Lord Charles Somerset, went in person into their country. On the banks of the Kat River he held a conference with Gaika, the reputed chief of the border tribes, at which an agreement was made, designed to prevent future inroads and causes of dispute. In treating with savages, it is difficult to ascertain who has a right to speak on their behalf, and how far his words are binding; and the recognition of one chief usually brings in its train the necessity of supporting his authority by force of arms. Gaika's promises

PART I. bore little fruit. The depredations went on, encouraged by a reduction in the number of soldiers on the frontier. A rival leader of the same Kosa race, Ndlambe by name, gained strength, and backed by Makana, one of the native seers or preachers, who from time to time have roused the Kaffir tribes, in 1818 broke up Gaika's power and nearly exterminated his personal following. Gaika's appeal for help to the colonial government brought on the Kaffir war of 1818-19. The soldiers crossed the Fish River and advanced into Kaffraria. In turn the Kosas invaded the colony and besieged Grahamstown, but were beaten off with heavy loss, broken, and driven back as far as the Kei. When the fighting was over, the English officers, anxious from a military point of view for a scientific frontier, urged that the Kosas should no longer be allowed to hold the

*The war
of 1818-19.*

*The eastern
boundary
of the
colony
moved
forward
from the
Fish River
to the Keis-
kamma.*

pathless jungles which lined the banks of the Fish River ; and, acting on their advice, the governor moved the boundary further to the east, taking from the Kaffirs the territory between the Fish River and the Keiskamma, as far up as the junction of the latter river with the Tyumie or Chumie.

On the coast, the distance between the mouths of the Fish and Keiskamma Rivers is from 25 to 30 miles. Further inland, the two rivers at one point run within ten miles of each other ; but higher up again their courses widely diverge, the Fish River coming down from the north-west and the Keiskamma from the north-east, and between their upper waters are the valleys of subsidiary streams, the Koonap, the Kat, the Chumie, and others. Leaving the Keiskamma River on the east, the new boundary followed the course of the Chumie, until it reached the spurs of the Winterberg and Amatola mountains. Here Gaika was left in possession of the Upper Chumie valley, on fertile pastures encircled by the hills ; while the rest of the territory in question, though ceded to the colony, was intended to be kept as neutral ground, occupied neither by white men nor by black, but

constantly patrolled by soldiers, whose headquarters were to be a new fort, Fort Willshire, built on the western bank of the Keiskamma, at the point where that river and the Fish River come nearest to each other.

Before the campaign of 1812, it had been a question which of two races, each advancing in the face of the other, should give way, and the Kaffir intruders into European territory had been far more numerous than Dutch or English emigrants into Kaffraria. That campaign effected a real clearance within the colonial borders, and the later war of 1819 marked the turning-point when, strengthened and almost forced to move by the feuds of their adversaries, the Europeans began to annex territory, the Kosa title to which had not hitherto been disputed. The building of Grahams-town and the introduction of British colonists into the Albany district brought the line of European colonisation, of definite and active occupation, well up to the Fish River. Beyond it there now lay a neutral belt designed for protection, but destined to give rise to further troubles.

It cannot be too often repeated that no fair judgment can be passed upon the border wars between the colonists and the Kaffirs, without constantly bearing in mind that the latter like the former had ever been moving forward. It was not a case of unprovoked invasion by aggressive newcomers from Europe of a land which from time immemorial had belonged to the existing occupants. What was now constituted neutral territory had once been the home of Hottentot tribes¹. The Kaffirs had dispossessed them, as

¹ Thus Colonel Collins in his *Journal of a Tour to the North-eastern Boundary of the colony*, dated August 6, 1809, writes: 'In concluding a treaty with the Kaffir people, it would be very advisable to stipulate that their kraals should be withdrawn to their ancient territory, which is beyond the Keiskamma, and to require that, although the country situated between this stream and the colonial boundary should be considered and respected as their territory, yet that they should not enter it except for the purposes of hunting.' (Papers relative to Cape of Good Hope, Part I, printed for the House of Commons in 1835, p. 47.) Again Sir Benjamin D'Urban, in his despatch of June 19, 1835, enclosed

PART I. the English and Dutch now dispossessed the Kaffirs. . More-
 over, throughout the south-east of Africa, as will be told more
 fully hereafter, the Kaffir clans were pressing forward one on
 another, raiding, exterminating, clearing the ground of its
 human products, planting themselves in, to be in turn up-
 rooted by others. As Goths, Vandals, or Huns swept
 through central Europe in the Dark Ages, acquiring by their
 swords a title to this or that land, a title not born of the soil
 but the fruit of recent and forcible occupation, so the owner-
 ship which the Bantu tribes could claim had no deep roots in
 the past. It was won by force, it was upheld by force, and as
 it was won and as it was upheld, so it could with no glaring
 injustice be swept away. Still for some forty years past
 a nominal line had been recognised, the line of the Fish River,
 and the annexation of land beyond that line was regarded by
 the Kaffirs themselves, and by Europeans who supported the
 cause of the native races, as a high-handed act, illustrating
 the aggressiveness of the white man, the helplessness of the
 black. The chief Gaika was held to have ceded the territory;
 but his consent to the cession was nominal, and his authority
 to make the cession was nominal also. Criticising the trans-
 action at a later date, in his celebrated despatch of December
 26, 1835, Lord Glenelg wrote as follows: 'We commenced
 by ascribing to the chieftain Gaika an authority which he did
 not possess, and then proceeded to punish him and his tribes
 because he failed to exercise that imaginary power for our
 benefit. We held him responsible for the acts of his and
 our own common enemy, and exacted from him and his
 people a forfeiture of their lands, as a penalty for the retalia-

a minute containing the following words: 'That the country between
 the Keiskamma and the Kei was formerly in the possession of the
 Hottentots is fully proved by the names which the latter river and
 others to the westward of it, as well as those of the mountains and other
 striking natural objects, still bear, these being all of the Hottentots'
 language; the right, therefore, by which the Kaffirs held it, it may
 fairly be assumed, is that of conquest.' (Papers relating to Cape of
 Good Hope, Kaffir war, and death of Hintsa, 1836, p. 44.)

tion made by the chief Ndlambe, after the invasion of his country by Gaika and ourselves. We forced on our ally a treaty which, according to the usages of the Kaffir nation, he had no authority to conclude, and, proceeding on that treaty, we ejected the other Kaffir chiefs, who were no parties to it, from their country¹. There was a certain amount of truth in these bitter words, but the writer should have gone further back and denounced the original landing of Europeans in South Africa, or he should have looked forward, and in the light of the coming time condemned wholesale the theory that white men and black can make any treaties whatever on equal terms, marking out bounds of exclusive possession. True statesmanship recognises, if it regrets, inequality, and no great measure of foresight is required to discern that the coloured races and the lands which they hold can be saved from European aggression only by being brought under European control. At this time, and for years afterwards, the old and the new ideas were struggling for the mastery. There was the old impracticable view that the white man and the black could be held asunder, each respecting the other's territory. There was the new view, not yet expressed, but gradually taking shape in the minds of men, that the two races must overlap and learn to live together, in which case none could doubt in whose hands the dominion would be. The missionaries, the strongest and most fearless champions of native rights, were yet the men whose work and whose lives did indirectly most to break down the old barriers and bring the Kaffir tribes within the limits of European influence. On the other hand the confiscation, if confiscation it was, of the strip of Kaffir territory between the Fish and Keiskamma Rivers was really an attempt to still carry out the old policy and keep the two races apart.

¹ Parliamentary Paper relating to the Cape of Good Hope, Kaffir war, and death of Hintsa, No. 279, 1836, p. 61.

PART I. The land in question was to be British territory, but, as far as occupation went, it was to be no man's land. Such was the intention, but it was never actually carried out. Part of the ceded territory between the Fish and the Koonap Rivers was in 1825 included in the colonial districts of Somerset and Albany. Further east, on the Kat River, a strong settlement of half-breeds and Hottentots was formed in 1829. Elsewhere Kaffirs came in on one side and white settlers on the other; they were allowed and disallowed, moved and removed, until the tenure of the country, like the objects of the government, was hard to define. Fairs were established on the border line, where colonists and Kaffirs bartered their wares; as years went on, traders and missionaries multiplied in Kaffraria. At all points the races were meeting; for good or for evil the policy of mutual exclusion was gradually giving way.

—+—
*Settlement
 in the ceded
 territory.*

The ministers in charge of the Colonial Office in England naturally encouraged any measures which seemed to tend to peaceful intercourse. In 1831 Lord Goderich gave his formal assent to grants of land in the ceded territory to 'respectable settlers'; but in the same despatch he drew an invidious distinction between Englishmen and Hottentots on the one hand and the Boers of the colony on the other, refusing to admit the latter to the new frontier district, and thereby excluding them by obvious implication from the category of respectable settlers¹. His successor, Mr. Stanley, afterwards Earl of Derby, disallowed an ordinance passed by the colonial legislature to enforce the commando system. 'The system,' he wrote, 'has been a fearful scourge to the native population²,' and in place of it he called the Governor's attention 'to the propriety of cultivating an intercourse with the chiefs of the Kaffir tribes by stationing prudent and

¹ Papers relative to Cape of Good Hope, Part II. House of Commons paper, No. 252, 1835, p. 57.

² Ibid. pp. 64-5.

intelligent men among them as agents of your government.' They were well meant these phrases as to 'respectable settlers' and 'prudent and intelligent men'; but they were written by men living at a distance, who viewed the world on paper. Meanwhile the Kaffir did not change his skin nor become regenerate, and the frontier colonist, whether Englishman or Dutchman, lived a hard life, whose natural conditions scarcely attained to the Downing Street standard of civilised respectability.

CH. V.



The chief Gaika died in 1828, leaving as his heir a boy Sandile. The regent was another son, Makoma, a determined restless border chieftain. Allowed to remain in the ceded territory in the upper valleys of the Kat River, he had raided the colonists more than once, and more than once commandos had been sent against him. In 1829 he attacked a clan of Tembu emigrants, who had taken up ground on the eastern frontier of the colony, and drove them within the border. He was dislodged in consequence from his holding, which became the scene of the Hottentot location already noticed¹, and three or four years later he was again permitted to settle himself upon the neutral ground and again removed. Irritated by the changing policy of the colonial government, dispossessed of the lands of his fathers, he nursed his resentment in secret, until in 1834 the time seemed ripe for open warfare.

At the beginning of that year a new Governor came out to the Cape, Sir Benjamin D'Urban, whose name is still borne by the seaport of Natal. A military officer, who had seen service in the Peninsular War, he had also acquired experience of civil administration as Governor of British Guiana, which, like the Cape, had once been a dependency of the Netherlands. He was a kindly as well as an able man, and he brought with him instructions, congenial to his

¹ See above, p. 154.

PART I. disposition, to conciliate the natives and make terms with their chiefs, to carry out slave emancipation, to cut down the public expenditure which had for years exceeded the revenue, and to effect certain changes in the system of government which had already been determined upon, and which included the establishment of a Legislative Council¹. His work kept him for some months at Capetown; but he promised an early visit to the eastern frontier of the colony, and meanwhile he sent friendly messages to the Kaffir chiefs through Dr. Philip, the principal representative in South Africa of the London Missionary Society². The projected tour of reconciliation was never carried out. Instead, the Governor was summoned in haste to repel a Kaffir invasion, and to organise border war as it had never yet been organised in South Africa.

Outbreak of the Kaffir war of 1834-5. On Sunday evening, December 21, 1834, more than 12,000 armed Kaffirs began to cross the frontier into the colony. The invasion took place along the whole border line from the Winterberg mountains to the sea. The foremost leaders were Makoma and his half-brother Tyali, but various clans moved forward under their respective chiefs, No raid had hitherto taken place on so large a scale, or had been so skilfully and so secretly planned. The missionaries and traders who were living among the Kaffirs were wholly ignorant that any hostile movement was contemplated, yet the war was no mere foray but amounted to an uprising of all the Kosa tribes against the Europeans. For nearly a fortnight the invaders laid waste the colony, from Somerset East to Algoa Bay, white men's lives were taken though not in large numbers, houses were burnt, property was destroyed or carried off, and the farmers and their families took refuge at the nearest military stations. 'This fertile and beautiful

¹ See above, p. 141.

² It was subsequently a matter of dispute whether or not Dr. Philip had acted as the Governor's agent.

province' wrote the Governor from Grahamstown on January 21, 'is almost a desert, and the murders, which have gone hand in hand with all this work of pillage and rapine, have deeply aggravated its atrocity¹.' As soon as the news reached Capetown, no time was lost in taking measures to meet the crisis. Martial law was proclaimed in the eastern districts, troops were moved up, and Colonel Smith, a Peninsular veteran, afterwards well known in South African history as Sir Harry Smith, rode in haste to Grahamstown and took command, until, in the third week of January, the Governor himself arrived on the scene of action. By the middle of February the Kaffir marauders were driven beyond the Keiskamma, and by the middle of March preparations were complete for a counter invasion.

CH. V.



The land of the Kosas extended from the Fish River, after the recent annexation from the Keiskamma, past the Buffalo and past the Kei River, as far as the Bashee. By the coast line the distance from the Keiskamma to the Kei River is about 80 miles, and from the Kei River to the Bashee is a further distance of 50 miles. Behind the Kosas, in the direction of the present colony of Natal, were other tribes of the Bantu race, Tembus and Pondos; and among the Kosas were living, little better than serfs, the Fingos, a remnant of broken clans, refugees from north and east. The paramount chief of the Kosas was a man by name Hintsa, the clan under his own immediate chieftainship being the Galekas, whose country was eastward of the Kei, and who were therefore the furthest removed of all the Kosas

*Counter
invasion of
Kaffirland.*

¹ Papers relative to Cape of Good Hope, Part II, p. 132, June, 1835. In a later despatch dated November 7, 1835, the Governor enclosed a map which is contained in the Parliamentary Paper of 1836 relating to the Cape of Good Hope, Kaffir war, and death of Hintsa. On this map is printed the following strongly worded note: 'The part of this map which is shaded and marked with assegais shows the extent of the invasion which covered the country with blood and ashes, and the unshaded part . . . shows the territory added to the colony as a security against recurrence of such disaster for the future.'

PART I. from the frontier of the colony. Hintsa himself had taken
 —♦— no active part in the late inroad; but some of his followers had joined the invading bands, and the cattle which had been carried off from the colonists had been taken into his territory. It seemed certain that, if he had not actually instigated the war, he had at least countenanced and supported it, and the Governor determined to bring him to account as well as the border chiefs who had so long troubled the land. The war was with the Kosas alone. With the Tembus and the Pondos at their rear the English were in friendly negotiation, and on the north the Basuto tribes plundered Hintsa's people, as the latter had plundered the colonists.

*Extension
of the
boundary
of the colony
to the Kei
River.*

*The pro-
vince of
Queen
Adelaide.*

At the end of March the British forces crossed the Keiskamma. In the middle of April they crossed the Kei. At the end of April Hintsa came to terms, giving himself up as a hostage, and on May 10 the Governor issued a proclamation declaring that 'the eastern boundary of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope is henceforward extended eastward to the right bank of the Kei River.' In the following October the north-eastern boundary was also extended, and taken to be a line from the source of the Kei in the Stormberg range to the source of the Kraai, a tributary of the Orange River on the northern side of the same mountains, and thence the left bank of the Kraai to its junction with the Orange River near the site of the present town of Aliwal North. The new territory was christened the province of Queen Adelaide. Forts were built and garrisoned in it to secure possession, among them being King Williamstown on the Buffalo River. The Fingos, who, when the British forces crossed the Kei, came to the Governor and claimed protection against their Kosa oppressors, were transplanted to the number of nearly 17,000, including women and children, and located in the old ceded territory between the Fish River and the Keiskamma; some Kaffir clans who had

remained friendly were confirmed in their locations with additional tracts of ground ; and the insurgent chiefs, having at length laid down their arms, were permitted to remain in or near their old homes, but as British subjects living on British territory. At the Kei River the colony ended, and beyond it Kreli, the son and heir of Hintsa, was recognised as ruler of the Galeka branch of the Kosas. In the new province European officers were placed with the Kaffir chiefs to be their advisers and friends, and missionaries were encouraged to return to their work in the hope of future security and peace.

CH. V.

It was the broadest settlement of the border question which had yet taken place, statesmanlike, and with fair promise for the future. The difficulty always had been, and still was to some extent, the want of natural boundaries. Rivers of no great size and volume never have been and never will be dividing lines between races. It was the merit of Sir Benjamin D'Urban that he recognised facts, and saw that security for white men and for black alike could be won only by an extension of British rule. The new province he described in June, 1835, as being not only 'an invaluable acquisition of beautiful and fertile territory,' but also 'a compact and easily defended barrier district of the most perfect description'.¹ To strengthen the hold of the government over the territory, he proposed to move the centre of administration eastward from Capetown to Uitenhage, within twenty miles of Port Elizabeth on Algoa Bay.

He had counted the cost in South Africa, but had still to reckon with the Imperial Government. In April, 1835, Lord Melbourne became prime minister for the second time, and his colonial secretary was Charles Grant, Lord Glenelg. Like other Whig statesmen, Lord Glenelg was strongly opposed to any extension of the bounds of the empire. 'The great evil

*Lord
Glenelg
reverses the
Governor's
policy.*

¹ Papers relating to Cape of Good Hope, Kaffir war, &c., 1836, p. 20.

PART I. of the Cape Colony,' he wrote, 'consists in its magnitude ¹.'
 Yet no man was indirectly more responsible for the events which in after years enlarged the colony and carried British interference into the interior. But he was not merely a politician of the Whig school. He was an ardent philanthropist, whose heart was stronger than his head. The policy of the Governor was warmly supported by the great majority of the colonists. Address after address was presented to him, recognising the firmness and determination which had been shown in his dealings, and the wisdom and humanity which had dictated his settlement of the frontier. The Wesleyan missionaries in Albany and Kaffirland added their acknowledgements, and representatives of other missions in South Africa bore similar testimony. Still there was a small but influential party which took the opposite view, and maintained in season and out of season that the right was on the side of the Kaffirs. They found a ready hearing in England, and their evidence given before a House of Commons committee carried undue weight, because it harmonised with the general spirit of the time. Their statements convinced the mind of the Colonial Secretary, and an incident in the late war, the killing of the chief Hintsa while attempting to escape from voluntary captivity, confirmed him in the impression that the blood which had been spilt and the misery which had been caused must be laid to the charge of the white men in South Africa and of the Governor who had been chosen to rule over them. Writing as an eye-witness of the horrors of the late Kaffir inroad into the colony, Sir Benjamin D'Urban characterised the invaders as 'irreclaimable savages' and 'merciless barbarians.' In Lord Glenelg's eyes, on the other hand, they were the victims of 'systematic injustice,' driven by desperation into the attempt to 'extort by force that redress which they could not expect otherwise to obtain.'

¹ Papers relating to Cape of Good Hope, Kaffir war, &c., 1836, p. 69.

The Colonial Secretary's sympathies were all with the coloured men. The Governor had fresh in his mind the carefully planned attack 'by which 7,000 of His Majesty's subjects were in one week driven to utter destitution'; he had seen the desolation caused by savage warfare, and had heard the cries of distress which came from unoffending colonists, ruined and homeless through no fault of their own. In summing up the defence of his measures, he wrote, 'your lordship in England and I upon the spot have seen all these African matters under different views, and it would be now useless to pursue the subject further ¹.' This was in truth the conclusion of the whole matter. On the one side were preconceived ideas, ignorance of local conditions, preference of irresponsible to responsible information. On the other side was local knowledge, possibly some bias caused by sights and sounds of distress, but sober judgment and no small measure of foresight. The Governor warned his employers in England that, if his settlement were reversed, 'this will be speedily followed by an extensive abandonment of Albany and Somerset on the part of the farmers.' His prediction proved true; his work was undone; and the Boers went out into the wilds of Africa.

Lord Glenelg's decision involved the absolute retrocession to the Kaffirs of the province of Queen Adelaide, and moving back the colonial boundary to the Keiskamma River. The district behind the Keiskamma and between that river and the Fish River, which Lord Charles Somerset had annexed in 1819, was reluctantly retained, but even here European settlement was prohibited, and the land was to be given up to Kaffir occupation. Separate treaties were to be made with the various Kosa chiefs, treating them as political equals with the Europeans; and a Lieutenant-governor was appointed

¹ The quotations given are mainly from Lord Glenelg's despatch of Dec. 26, 1835, and Sir Benjamin D'Urban's reply of June 9, 1836, both included in Parliamentary Papers.

PART I. for the Eastern districts of the colony, who was specially charged with carrying out the new policy. That policy was duly brought into operation, and Sir Benjamin D'Urban was recalled.

recall of Sir Benjamin D'Urban.

Results of Lord Glenelg's decision.

Few decisions have had more far-reaching results than that which was embodied in Lord Glenelg's despatch. It would be foolish and unjust not to credit the author of the despatch with courage and high principle, but it is impossible on the other hand to acquit him of wrong-headed obstinacy. In many ways, direct and indirect, the course of action which he prescribed worked mischief, not least in the precedent which it furnished for after times. It was the beginning of undoing in South Africa. It may well be questioned whether greater misery has not been caused in the world by going back than by going forward, especially where native races are concerned; and it is certain that men are more easily persuaded to move forward, if the impression gains ground that their steps can be lightly retraced. The Romans of old, as long as their political system was healthy and sound, rarely went back; and among all the nations of the world few, if any, have stood higher as rulers. Men ask to be sure of those with whom they have to deal, to be confident that what has been done to-day will be upheld to-morrow. A lower race forgives much to a higher race, if it is strong, consistent, and unswerving; but when the white man perpetually shifts his course, blown about by every wind of doctrine, then for a generation and more nothing is forgiven and nothing is forgotten. 'What can be more detestable than to be perpetually changing our minds? we forget that a state in which the laws, though imperfect, are unalterable, is better off than one in which the laws are good but powerless.' So said, and said truly, an Athenian orator, and he began his speech with the reflection 'I have remarked again and again that a democracy cannot manage an empire'¹

¹ Thucydides, bk. III. chap. xxxvii, Jowett's translation. It may,

The officer who was appointed Lieutenant-governor of the Eastern districts was a colonist, Andries Stockenstrom. He was in sympathy with Lord Glenelg's policy, and had given evidence on that side in England. In consequence he was regarded in the colony with suspicion and dislike. Yet he was a strong and able administrator, and carried the Secretary of State's instructions into effect with courage and skill. But a system of treaties, based on the false hypothesis that the contracting parties were on an equal footing, was doomed to failure, and a solution of the border troubles was further off than ever. Lord Glenelg resigned early in 1839. Stockenstrom was honourably removed from his post later in the same year; and Sir George Napier, who had succeeded Sir Benjamin D'Urban as Governor, modified the terms of the treaties in a direction favourable to the colonists. Raids and robberies still went on, and again in 1844-5 a new series of engagements was entered into with the Kosa chiefs by Sir George Napier's successor, Sir Peregrine Maitland; but the promises were not worth the paper on which they were written, and were but the prelude to another Kaffir war.

CH. V.

—
*Sir Andries
 Stocken-
 strom made
 Lieutenant-
 governor of
 the Eastern
 districts.*

In March 1846, a Kaffir, who had stolen an axe within colonial territory, was sent for trial to Grahamstown. On the road his guard was overpowered, and he himself was rescued by a party of Kaffirs, who made their escape over the frontier. His surrender was demanded in vain, and the result was open war. An early reverse to the British and colonial troops brought on an invasion of the colony; and, though the disaster and ruin was not so widespread as it had been ten years before, history to a great extent repeated itself. Again martial law was proclaimed; again burgher levies were called out and troops hurried up to the front; again boards of relief were established to succour the victims of the Kaffir inroad; and again there was a long desultory

*The Kaffir
 war of
 1846.*

perhaps, be not unfairly retorted that on the occasion in question Cleon was speaking in favour of putting a whole community to death.

PART I. campaign against a scattered foe in a difficult country, with
 --- occasional success and occasional failure. One noteworthy
 feature of the war was that the colonial contingent was led
 and well led by Stockenstrom, no longer an advocate of
 a reactionary policy. A provisional treaty made in August
 with Kreli, the paramount chief of the Kosas, came to
 nothing, and for yet another year and more the war went on.
 Maitland had in the meantime been succeeded as Governor
 by Sir Henry Pottinger¹, and the latter in turn made way
 for Sir Harry Smith, who came back to South Africa, with
 honours lately won against the Sikhs².

Extension of the boundary of the Cape Colony and creation of the province of British Kaffraria. The war was virtually over when he reached Capetown on December 1, 1847, and little remained for him but to carry out the resolution, which both the preceding Governors had formed, to extend the area of British rule, as Sir Benjamin D'Urban had extended it. On December 17 he proclaimed the boundary of the colony to be the Keiskamma and Chumie Rivers, from the source of the Chumie a line which crossed the mountains and followed the course of sundry small streams as far as the source of the Kraai, the Kraai from its source to its junction with the Orange River, and thence the Orange River as far as the Atlantic Ocean. The old neutral territory between the Fish and the Keiskamma Rivers was thus finally absorbed into the Cape Colony, and was given the name of Victoria. A few days later the district between the Keiskamma

¹ It is noteworthy that Sir H. Pottinger was the first Governor of the Cape who was also formally appointed High Commissioner. The instrument which created the appointment was dated October 10, 1846, and was worded as follows: 'Whereas the inhabitants of the territories immediately adjoining the eastern and the north-eastern frontier of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope have at divers times made hostile irruptions into our said colony . . . we do by these presents constitute and appoint you to be our High Commissioner for the settling and adjustment of the affairs of the territories in Southern Africa adjacent or contiguous to the eastern and north-eastern frontier of our said colony.'

² The victory of Aliwal over the Sikhs in January 1846, in which Sir Harry Smith commanded the British troops, gave its name to the town and district of Aliwal North in the Cape Colony.

—the eastern boundary of the colony—and the Kei River, was declared to be vested in the Queen, and to be held from her by the Kaffir chiefs and people, under the control of the High Commissioner, whom the natives were to regard as their Great Chief. It was not annexed to the Cape Colony, but was constituted a separate province and placed for the time being under military rule. Thus Sir Benjamin D'Urban's policy was vindicated by the man who had shared with him the praise and blame; and the province of Queen Adelaide, which he had created, and which Lord Glenelg had undone, was brought again, with a new name and under slightly altered conditions, within the circle of the British dominions.

The land between the Keiskamma and the Kei, to which the name of British Kaffraria was now given, is not more than from 60 to 80 miles in length between the two rivers. Parallel to the sea, at a distance of about 50 miles, lies the range of the Amatola mountains, in which are the headwaters of the Keiskamma River, and whose southern slopes cover a large tract of broken difficult country, well suited to be the stronghold of a savage race. Between this mountain region and the sea is a healthy and fertile district, now rich alike in grain and in flocks and herds. At the time when British sovereignty was proclaimed over the territory, the tribes near the sea were Kosa Kaffirs, the 'Tslambies and others, mostly well affected to the English; more inland, on the slopes of the Amatolas, was another clan or group of clans of the same Kosa race, the Gaikas, who under their chief Sandile had already given and were again to give trouble. North of the Amatolas were Tembu tribes, distinct from though akin to the Kosas. Kreli, the paramount chief of all the Kosas, with his own special clan, the Galekas, was located beyond the Kei and outside the limits of British Kaffraria. The chief river of the territory is the Buffalo; on its banks, rather more than 40 miles from the sea, stands King Williamstown, where were the headquarters of the

*Organisa-
tion of
British
Kaffraria.*

*King
Williams-
town.*

PART I. troops in the district, and where the officer resided who was styled Chief Commissioner of British Kaffraria. At the

*East
London.*

mouth of the Buffalo there rose a flourishing sea-port, which, under the name of East London, was, for revenue and commercial purposes, annexed to the Cape Colony¹. In other parts of the territory military posts were established; while within the colonial border, between the Fish and the Keiskamma Rivers, steps were taken to form a line of military villages, the settlers being army pensioners liable to be called out for the defence of the frontier².

*The Kaffir
war of
1850-3.*

For between two and three years there was peace in these eastern districts, and the new arrangements seemed to be working well; but in 1850 a time of drought in Kaffraria brought suffering and distress; a native prophet or witch-doctor, Umlanjeni by name, roused the fanaticism of his countrymen; and the chiefs, discontented with the loss of their power, fomented rebellion. Prominent among them was the Gaika, Sandile, who was formally deposed from his position at the end of October, 1850. To overawe him, a patrol of troops was sent into the Amatola region, and on Christmas Eve in the same year, when passing up the valley

*The fight
at Boomah
Pass.*

of the Keiskamma, in a rocky gorge known as the Boomah Pass, the soldiers were attacked and roughly handled by the Gaikas. A long disastrous war followed, the frontier villages were laid waste, and the Governor himself was for a while cut off and isolated in one of the new forts. The coast tribes remained loyal for the most part; enmity to the Kosas kept the Fingos faithful to the English; but the Gaikas were all in arms, the Galeka chieftain Kreli from beyond the Kei gave them help and encouragement; north of the Amatolas some of the Tembus joined in the rising; and even the

¹ By proclamation dated January 14, 1848. By an Order in Council dated December 16, 1848, it was declared to be a port of import and export, and a free warehousing port.

² The scheme of military villages did not prove a success.

Hottentot settlers on the Kat River made common cause with the insurgent Kaffirs. The colonists, when called upon for active service, showed little readiness to answer to the appeal. They were growing tired of frontier raids and shifting frontier policy, and their sympathies were with their countrymen and kinsmen far away to the north, working out their own salvation and achieving their independence. For the later Kaffir wars differed from their predecessors, in that they coincided with other troubles and difficulties, which divided the attention of the Governors in South Africa and of the Secretaries of State in Downing Street. The history of South Africa had widened in the last few years, the complications had greatly increased, and to Kaffir wars were superadded conflict and treaty with the emigrant farmers, and with the fighting tribes of mountainous Basutoland.

The war went on till the beginning of 1853; lives were lost on land; and at sea, off Simons Bay, the troopship *Birkenhead*, while bringing reinforcements, went down with four hundred men standing to their arms¹. Sir Harry Smith was succeeded by General Cathcart; and in the end the mountain fastnesses were cleared, Sandile and his Gaika followers were driven from their strongholds and planted in open country to the east of the Amatolas, further away from the colonial boundary and nearer to the Kei, while beyond the Kei Kreli and the Galekas were brought to terms. The real seat of war, the real difficulty, had been the Amatola mountains. This district, from which the Gaikas had at length been dislodged, was kept as a Crown Reserve, in military occupation and under military control, land being allotted to settlers in small amounts within easy reach of the forts and military posts, the maintenance of which in this particular locality was the primary object of the government.

*Readjustment of the frontier.
The Amatola district constituted a Crown Reserve.*

¹ The loss of the *Birkenhead* and the discipline and heroism of the troops on board has been commemorated in Sir Francis Doyle's well-known poem. Over 400 soldiers and seamen were drowned.

PART I. Beyond the reserve and beyond the Amatola range, the northern part of the territory which had been included by Sir Harry Smith in British Kaffraria marched with the northern district of the new colonial division of Victoria. In this region the Tembu tribes, or some of them, had risen simultaneously with the Kaffirs, and here, as further south, some rearrangement of the native locations was found necessary. A large extent of land was declared to be forfeited by the natives, and on it was planted a number of farmers, Dutch and English alike, many of them trekkers returning from the interior. They were given farms on condition of maintaining among themselves, as in the oldest time of the Cape Colony, an organisation for self-defence, and the frontier was protected by these means without the aid of regular troops. The centre of this new settlement was a village called Queens- town, round which a strong and thriving band of colonists took root. Roads were opened to King Williamstown, and thence to the sea at East London. The Amatolas henceforth formed the inland boundary of British Kaffraria, and the country to the north of that range, except a narrow strip along the Kei River, was annexed to and incorporated in the Cape Colony.

General Cathcart, the author of these measures, to judge from his actions and his despatches, a man of foresight and statesmanship, was followed in 1854¹ by Sir George Grey. By this time, slowly but surely, civilised man was asserting his influence over Kaffir life and Kaffir land, slowly the eastern frontier of the colony was being pacified. The end was not yet, but to those who read the signs of the times it was in view. No longer rivals and competitors with the European colonists, the Kosas were becoming a vassal and protected race, even where Great Britain did not yet claim any sovereignty over the soil. Partly by the arts of war,

¹ Sir George Cathcart went on to the Crimea and was killed at Inkerman.

partly by the arts of peace, they were being subdued. CH. V.
 Long contact with, long friction with, a higher race worked
 the inevitable result that the black man was worn down in
 time, and the white man, perpetually recruiting his strength
 from beyond the seas, in the end prevailed. —♦—

Confused as is the story of border wars in South Africa, *British and Roman frontier policy compared.* the results are more interesting, more helpful to students of history, than the records of similar strife at other times and in other parts of the British Empire. The outcome was not purely negative, it was not extermination. Where there was extermination, it was the work of the savages themselves, not of the colonial governors and generals who, humane themselves and acting in the strong light of philanthropic criticism, were at pains to minimise bloodshed, to protect and to control without undue loss of life. There was a good deal of the Roman element in the frontier policy in South Africa. The unbending sternness of the Romans was wanting, it is true. More scrupulous but more changeable, less despotic but less consistent, the English in the middle of the nineteenth century, in their dealings with native races were not so successful, because not so thorough, as the men who conquered and ruled the provinces of Imperial Rome. But in the border country of the Cape Colony and Kaffirland British officers were after all working out on a small scale the same problems, in the same spirit, as Roman officers many centuries ago had worked out in the frontier districts of Gaul and Britain. The policy in either case was to govern by dividing and breaking up, to hold in military strength positions of vantage, to make and maintain good roads, to bring in settlers, especially settlers trained to arms, to turn the eyes and minds of the residents on the soil back to the soil, and to accustom them to the routine of agriculture, to accumulating modest wealth by regular labour under peaceful conditions, as a preferable alternative to the risks and chances of border forays. Within and on the frontiers of the colony

PART I. were located Fingo tribes, bound to the European cause by interest and friendship, forming a kind of native buffer state between the colonial settlements and the malcontent Kaffirs who had so long kept those settlements in alarm and unrest. In Kaffraria, under British rule, the clans were redistributed, and the paramount power of chieftainship was vested in the High Commissioner. Where in mountainous ravines, time after time, the Gaika clans had defied the British forces, a Crown Reserve was constituted with forts and roads, emptied of marauding natives and secured by garrisons. Its former inhabitants, moved to more accessible country, began to handle spades instead of assegais, to plough with their own oxen instead of plundering their neighbours'. They hired themselves to the government and worked on the roads. 'The Kaffirs,' wrote Sir George Grey in January, 1856, 'are themselves conquering their country by opening up, through their fastnesses, available roads, which will be of equal use to us either in peace or war'.¹ The chiefs, with

¹ On October 15, 1853, Sir George Cathcart writes to the Secretary of State: 'The Gaikas in their new location appear to be particularly diligent in this respect [gardening], and I have taken measures to supply them liberally with spades, which they seek for eagerly, and for which they are very thankful. This mode of cultivation with spades is somewhat new, and, I think, should be encouraged, for it is an implement requiring to be used by men, whereas their old habits of cultivation were confined almost entirely to the use of the hoe in the hands of the women, whilst the men remained idle.' [Parl. Paper, July 1855, pp. 23-4.] Three months later he writes (p. 26): 'In Kaffraria the late rebels... have taken to agriculture with a degree of enterprise never before known. They purchased ploughs, sent oxen to be taught to work, and hired people to plough for them.' Compare with this what Sir Bartle Frere writes on October 17, 1877 [Mr. Martineau's *Life of Sir Bartle Frere*, vol. ii. p. 198]: 'Many of the Kaffirs, finding no room for their old pastoral habits in keeping cattle, turned to agriculture and sheep farming, both civilising changes. You cannot drive sheep as you drive cattle, and, sheep-stealing being a less warlike occupation than cattle lifting, sheep farming tended to peace. But the great change was effected by the introduction of light cheap Scotch and American ploughs. A Kaffir man may not hoe—that is woman's work; but no woman may tend cattle, that is man's privilege, so that Kaffir milkmaids are all the young warriors of the Kraal.'

² Parl. Paper, June 1856, p. 34.

British officers and magistrates in their midst, learnt to exercise authority in accordance with rule, and to look for small stipends and pensions as the settled accompaniment of civilisation. Most of all, in contradistinction to the policy of by-gone days, the Governors, who were responsible for the peace of South Africa, sought to secure it not so much by isolating white men in one district and black men in another, or by keeping a tract of border country permanently clear of inhabitants, as by filling up the vacant spaces with European settlers and planting in the midst of the Kaffirs a white population able to hold their own, if necessary, by force of arms, sufficiently numerous to assimilate the natives, and wean them by example from savagery to industrial life.

Military colonisation was a leading feature in the political system of the Roman Empire. Soldiers were converted into colonists, but remained liable for garrison duty. The frontiers were lined with colonies of time-expired legionaries, who were given land partly as a reward for past services, partly as a condition of keeping the border line of the provinces in security and peace. The plan worked well, for the basis of the Roman power was a purely military basis, and the soldier settlers were grouped in towns, not dispersed on backwood farms and holdings over a long and broken area. In modern times, when similar experiments have been tried, they have not been so successful. No nation of our day has been a nation of soldiers to the same extent as the Romans, and in the colonies the old soldier takes to town life or to country life as the case may be, but, whether in town or country, he loses his identity and becomes absorbed in the ordinary population. One governor and another proposed the establishment of military colonists on the eastern frontier of the Cape Colony. Sir Harry Smith placed some military villages between the Fish River and the Keiskamma¹, which were shortly afterwards swept away in

*Military
colonisation
and
the German
legion.*

¹ See above, p. 166.

PART I. the Kaffir war. The next governor, General Cathcart, had in view the double object of bringing in soldier immigrants from Europe, and forming the border farmers into a species of militia. The latter experiment was carried out in the Queenstown district¹, 'north of the Amatolas in an open plain, where a commando of 400 mounted burghers is capable of maintaining their position and keeping the native tribes at a distance².' The former was designed to meet the special needs of the hilly Amatola region. Here the Governor proposed to plant two Swiss regiments, of 700 to 1,000 men each, deeming them preferable to British pensioners as more accustomed to mountain districts, more thrifty, and more likely to hold together, being bound by the tie of a separate nationality³. This identical scheme was not carried into effect, but Cathcart's successor, Sir George Grey, was no less minded than himself to make British Kaffraria the scene of military settlements. He had been Governor of New Zealand, where similar experiments had been tried with success, and, after his arrival at the Cape at the end of 1854, he lost no time in urging the Government at home to send out a strong body of enrolled pensioners, for whom allotments were already being laid out and houses built, so as to form villages in the neighbourhood of existing military posts. It was the time of the Crimean War, not a time for transferring from England to a distant colony men who were trained to arms, or for interesting the Imperial Government in projects of colonisation. In answer to an advertisement for emigrants of the class required only 107 pensioners offered themselves, whereas 1,000 had been asked for at once, to be followed in due course by four times the number. It seemed useless to equip and despatch this

¹ See above, p. 168.

² Sir G. Cathcart to Sec. of State, February 11, 1853. *Parl. Paper of May 1853*, p. 223.

³ *Parl. Paper* as above, pp. 91, 110.

handful of men, and for some months Sir George Grey's plans were in abeyance. Shortly afterwards, however, a more favourable opportunity occurred of meeting his views. Under stress of the war, Great Britain had recruited soldiers in foreign parts, and in her pay were German, Swiss, and Italian legions¹. The Germans numbered between 9,000 and 10,000 in all, and of this total number over 2,300 offered themselves as emigrants for South Africa. For seven years they were to be liable to military service, and for the first three years of this term they were to receive daily pay. For one year they were given free rations or the equivalent in money; each man was provided with an allotment of land rent free, to become his freehold property at the end of the seven years, if the terms of the agreement had been duly complied with; and advances were made to cover the first cost of tools and other necessary articles of equipment. The Cape Government contributed to the cost, cordially recognising that the establishment of a large body of military settlers upon the frontier of the colony would contribute to its safety. At the beginning of 1857 the German soldiers arrived, and were settled, some at existing towns or stations, such as East London and King Williams-town, some on selected sites, where villages were yet to be built. Distributed through the Eastern districts of the colony and through British Kaffraria, they held the lines of communication, as garrisons attached to and having an interest in the soil; and the division of Stutterheim still bears the name of the officer², in whose charge the soldiers

¹ According to a parliamentary return dated July 1857, the full numbers and cost of the foreign legions in the pay of Great Britain were—

	<i>Numbers.</i>	<i>Cost.</i>
German legion	9,682	£687,800
Swiss	3,296	235,486
Italian	3,581	195,655

² Major-General Baron Stutterheim, styled Chief Commissioner of German military settlers.

PART I. came, and under whose immediate guidance they were
 ————— settled on the land. The chief drawback to the scheme was that only a few of the emigrants brought wives with them. This defect Sir George Grey sought to remedy by proposing to import a large number of German families, to be located with and to supplement the military settlers. Some were brought over; but the total expenditure which was contemplated was too large to win the assent of the Imperial Government, and to subsidise an exclusively German emigration seemed to the Secretaries of State less politic than to provide the existing German settlers with English or Irish wives. The Governor therefore sent on a thousand of the unmarried soldiers to India, and those who remained behind developed into Cape colonists and fell into line with the civil population.

The cattle-killing delusion among the Kaffirs.

While the Europeans were at pains to strengthen their numbers, the Kaffirs were committing suicide. Just at the time when the soldiers of the German legion came to South Africa, a delusion took root and gained ground among the Kosa tribes, which was little short of suicidal mania. In the years 1855 and 1856 a virulent epidemic of cattle disease killed out many thousands of horned cattle in the Cape Colony and Kaffraria. The misery which was thus caused was greatly intensified by the preaching of a Kaffir prophet, who held forth in the Galeka country beyond the Kei. This madman or impostor foretold that the Kaffir chiefs of past times, long dead and gone, were about to return to earth with their followers and with a new race of cattle, no longer liable to sickness or pestilence, and that this resurrection would result in the final triumph of the black men over the white. The Crimean War was worked into the prophecy, for the dead chiefs were to bring in their train a Russian host. A necessary prelude to the Kaffir kingdom upon earth, the prophet went on, was that all existing cattle and corn should be destroyed. Kreli and the Galekas living

outside British territory listened to the seer's word, which was no doubt in a measure inspired by the chiefs, anxious to recover their former power and to unite the Kosa race against the British Government. The delusion spread into British Kaffraria, but there European training and influence had weight. Sandile and most of the Gaikas were among the 'unbelievers,' and in consequence the immediate result of the teaching was not to unite but to break up the Kaffir tribes. The 'believers' busily slaughtered their oxen and made away with all means of subsistence; and when on the great day of deliverance, which had been fixed for Wednesday February 18, 1857, the sun rose and set in the usual manner and the earth did not give forth her dead, the imposture melted away, leaving nothing behind but wide-spread destitution.

It was estimated that about 25,000 Kaffirs died of starvation, and that nearly 100,000 wandered forth to find means of living beyond their own borders. A return of the population in British Kaffraria alone¹ showed that, whereas on January 1, 1857, the natives in the territory numbered nearly 105,000, on the following July 31 little more than 37,000 were left; and in Krel's country beyond the Kei, the loss of life and the dispersion of starving savages was as great or greater. The chiefs were beggared; women and children dug for wild roots to assuage the pains of hunger; robberies were plentiful, for those who had killed their own herds laid hands on the property of others. The Government did what could be done to meet the crisis, relief works were multiplied, 40,000 Kaffirs were taken into service in various parts of the colony, and police and soldiers were busy in breaking up bands of marauders.

Meanwhile news of the Indian Mutiny had reached the Cape, and the military force in South Africa was reduced, to

¹ Exclusive of the Crown Reserve, and, of course, exclusive of Independent Kaffraria.

Krel's and the Gaikas driven behind the Bashee River.

PART I. strengthen the English army in India. It was feared that
 —→ in consequence Kreli and his Galekas, enfeebled though they were by famine, were meditating an outbreak, and in February 1858 Sir George Grey sent a force against them, consisting of a few regulars, and a larger number of mounted police and burgher and native militia, which drove them from their country eastward behind the Bashee River. The Kosa clans in fact were by this time utterly disorganised and broken in pieces. When the Dutchmen first came face to face with the Bantu race, the men whom they met were these Kosa Kaffirs, the vanguard of a great black immigration, intruders like the European colonists into a Hottentot land. For generations the two races barred each other's progress, for generations officials on one side and chiefs on the other made treaties, and drew lines, and took rivers to be boundaries—but all in vain. The white men grew in numbers, they grew in strength and skill, the black men helped the white men by killing one another, there was going back and going forward and needless loss of life, but at length the end came, and the European held the field. But be it remembered that the so-called Kaffir wars were, in the main, wars against one section only of the Kaffir or Bantu race; they were wars of white colonists against black men who were immigrants like themselves; and they were wars in which the injury done by Europeans was as nothing compared with the wholesale destruction which the savages wrought among one another.

*Rearrange-
ment of
tribes and
locations in
Kaffraria.* The sequel of the story may be told in few words. From 1858 to 1865 the Transkei—the land between the Kei and the Bashee Rivers, which had belonged to Kreli and the Galekas, and from which they had been expelled—remained a neutral territory, for the most part empty of inhabitants. Only in one district, on the north-east, was land allotted to friendly Kaffirs, in what was known as the Idutywa Reserve. Neither the Imperial nor the Colonial Government were

ready to bear the expense and undertake the responsibility of settlement and administration. At length, in 1865, the Galekas were allowed to return into part of the territory, the part nearest the sea, which thenceforward for some years appeared on the maps as Galekaland, while on their inland borders was placed a strong colony of some 40,000 Fingos, again transplanted from the homes which had been in past years found for them in the Eastern districts of the colony. British Kaffraria was annexed to the Cape Colony, whose border thus extended to the Kei; and the Transkeian territories, further east, Fingoland, Galekaland, and other districts, remained in a state of semi-independence, all being under British protection, and some being nominally British possessions. The peoples lived under the rule of their respective chieftains, who were in most cases advised by British agents.

As years went on, the Galekas, once more a strong and fighting clan, cooped up in one corner only of their ancient territory, fell foul of their neighbours and hereditary foes, the Fingos; and Kreli, urged on, it would seem, by his followers, and mindful of his past position as hereditary paramount chief of the Kosa race, measured his strength yet once more, and for the last time, against the white man. In 1877-8 the rising took place. The struggle was hopeless. The Kosas were circled in by other rival tribes. Yet there was danger in the movement, for other and darker clouds were gathering on the horizon, and in Zululand greater numbers of a still stronger Kaffir race were mustering to arms. Sir Bartle Frere was then High Commissioner, and in October 1877 he issued a proclamation deposing Kreli and annexing his territory. For some months fighting went on, not without loss to the colonial levies and the small force of British troops which was available for the war. The outbreak spread into the colony, where Sandile and the Gaikas, who had long known peace under British rule, once more threw

*The Kaffir
war of
1877-8.*

PART I. in their lot with Kreli's men; but by the end of June 1878
 —♦♦— the war was practically over, Sandile had been shot, and
Final Kreli was a fugitive, and there was an end to the long series
defeat of the of border fights, which for a hundred years had been waged
Kosas. between Dutch and English settlers on the one side and the
 Kosa Kaffirs on the other.

CHAPTER VI.

THE BEGINNINGS OF NATAL AND THE BOER REPUBLICS.

THE connexion between the missionary movement and CH. VI.
the great Boer emigration from the Cape Colony has already ———
been noticed. Reference has also been made to the various *Causes of*
subsidiary causes, which bred restlessness and discontent *Dutch dis-*
among the Dutch settlers. The Dutchmen had changed *content.*
their masters and come under foreign rule, better rule, it is
true, than their fathers or themselves had known, but still
the rule of aliens. English supplanted Dutch as the
language of the governors and the judges. Old boards and
offices were swept away. British justice was administered,
even-handed to black and white men alike, and therefore
distasteful to those, not a few in number, who ignored the
claims of the coloured races. Commandos against the
natives were discouraged or forbidden. The system of land
tenure was changed. Pecuniary loss was inflicted by the
redemption of the paper currency below its nominal value,
and by the emancipation of the slaves. The Governors at
first were all powerful, and their personal character affected
the lives and fortunes of their subjects. Lord Charles *Lord*
Somerset, for instance, who ruled from April 1814 to *Charles*
January 1820, and again from November 1821 to March *Somerset.*
1826, able and public spirited as he was, was by nature
a despot. He left his mark in many ways on the colony,
and the names of Worcester, of Somerset, of Beaufort, still

PART I. tell the tale of his family. His reign began with an uprising of border farmers in 1815, irritated by government interference with their treatment of the blacks. At a place named Slachter's Nek most of them laid down their arms, but five were afterwards hung for high treason, a stern sentence and one which alienated Dutch sympathies. The later years of his government were embittered by quarrels with the colonial press, not yet set free, and in the end he returned to England to answer charges which were brought against him in the House of Commons, and resigned his appointment.

*Slachter's
Nek.*

One cause and another embittered the colonists, especially the Dutchmen; and in the end, when Sir Benjamin D'Urban's policy was rudely reversed by Lord Glenelg, many of the Boers felt their position to be intolerable. Their remedy was in trekking, and they trekked. In the present chapter it is proposed to give some account of the lands to which they went, of the peoples with whom they came into conflict, and of the communities which they founded.

*Geography
of Africa
South of
the Zam-
besi.*

From the southernmost point of South Africa to the Zambesi in the latitude of the Victoria Falls is, in a straight line on the map, a distance of some 1,200 miles. East of the falls, the Zambesi flows to the north, encircling Mashonaland, much of which is in a more northerly latitude than the falls themselves. The Zambesi may be taken as the northern limit of South Africa, as bounding a great peninsula, the main geographical features of which are not difficult to trace. The land rises, as has already been pointed out, from the sea towards the interior, and the main lines of mountains run parallel to the sea. The interior is everywhere an elevated plateau, high above the level of the coast. But the ground rises also from the west to the east, and on the east not only are the mountain-tops as a rule higher than on the west, but the plains as a whole

attain a greater general elevation. The east too is the side which nature has favoured. The rainfall there is heavier; the rivers are more numerous; the resources are richer. It is from the south or the east that men come into southern Africa, not from the west, where stretch the dreary wastes of Damara and Namaqualand.

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Beyond the third line of mountains in the Cape Colony is the Upper Karroo, extending north to the Orange River, and not in fact bounded by that river, for the main plateau of the continent is now reached. There is a slight slope towards the river, but, standing on its banks, Hopetown is 3,600 feet above the sea, and Aliwal North, further up the river, to the south-east, has an altitude of 4,300 feet. Beyond the river the town of Kimberley stands 4,000 feet above sea level, while in the Orange Free State, to the east of and in a slightly more southerly latitude than Kimberley, Bloemfontein is 4,500 feet high. To the north, in British Bechuanaland, the level of the ground is on the whole somewhat lower, the height of Kuruman above the sea being given at about 3,500 feet, and of Vryburg at rather less than 3,900 feet. Mafeking, however, on the northern boundary of the territory, has an altitude of nearly 4,200 feet. In the Transvaal, due east of British Bechuanaland, the land again rises. Pretoria, which is in the same latitude as Mafeking, is nearly 4,500 feet high; and Johannesburg, standing on the Witwatersrand ridge, about thirty-five miles south-west of Pretoria, has a level of over 5,600 feet. Farther north again, in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, and in the northern districts of the Transvaal, the course of the rivers indicates a fall of the ground towards the north-east. The Bakwena town of Molepolole is given an altitude of 4,000 feet, and Khama's capital Palapye stands on a level of 3,150 feet. Far off in the desert to the north-west, the altitude of desolate Lake Ngami has been variously estimated, but may be taken to be about 3,000 feet. The Tati gold

*Height of
the South
African
plateau.*

PART I. fields, on the borders of Khama's country and Matabeleland, are on a lower level, about 2,600 feet above the sea. Finally, there is a definite rise to the north-east up to the plateau of Mashonaland, where the ground on which the township of Salisbury stands is 5,000 feet high.

These figures, though in some cases only approximately correct, indicate sufficiently for the purpose how high the interior of South Africa is above sea level. The height of Snowdon, and of the Table Mountain at the Cape, is under 3,600 feet; the height of Ben Nevis is 4,400. The ordinary level therefore of the South African plateau may be taken to be as high as the tops of the first two mountains, and residents at Johannesburg and Salisbury are living at a considerably greater altitude than the summit of Ben Nevis. The height of the ground modifies to some extent the heat of the climate, for the north of the Transvaal, the northern part of the Bechuanaland Protectorate, and Matabeleland and Mashonaland are in the tropics. On the eastern coast, great rivers open out into the sea amid tropical swamps, where white men sicken and die. In the same latitudes inland Europeans work and thrive, they replenish the earth and subdue it.

The Kalahari. The central tract of the South African plateau is or used to be known as the Kalahari desert. On the maps the Kalahari lies between the German Protectorate on the west and the Transvaal and Matabeleland on the east, but the dry zone, the so-called desert region, has a far larger area. On the west it begins many miles south of the Orange River, and extends into Portuguese territory. In the centre it includes Griqualand West, Bechuanaland, and the Bechuanaland Protectorate; and east of these countries it embraces much of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. It stretches across the continent, in short, from the Atlantic to the line of mountain ranges which look down upon the eastern coast. Desert it is called, and in parts desert it is,

but it has earned the name rather from scarcity than from absence of water. Rain falls but seldom, it falls in thunder showers which sink into the sandy soil, and in most places no water runs off in rivers to the sea. Springs and fountains are few and far between, though wells are found by boring; and, owing to the high level of the ground, evaporation is rapid. The country is undulating and open, mostly bare of trees, but after rains tall grasses shoot up and cover the ground. The land becomes more fertile towards the mountains on the east, and here lasting rivers give certainty of life. Taking Capetown and Table Bay as the historic starting-point for the interior, the line of life and the line of European colonisation has run north-east.

Deserts are the homes of wandering beasts and wandering men, the refuge of outcasts from more favoured lands. In old days the Kalahari, taken in its widest sense, was in the main inhabited only by nomad bands of Bushmen and a few Korannas of Hottentot origin. In later times immigrants of other races found their way into its eastern districts. The many tribes which are included in the Bechuana division of the Bantu race came down from the north, while on the south the frontier Boers of the Cape Colony sent their cattle over the border in times of drought for better pasturage.

On the northern boundary of the colony, in the region of the Orange River, was a number of half-breeds, the result of Dutch and Hottentot intermixture, but more Hottentot than Dutch, and supplemented by many blacks of pure Hottentot race. They were known at first as the Bastards, but subsequently took the better sounding name of Griquas¹. In their wanderings they came into contact with the missionaries, and under missionary guidance, at the beginning of the present century, they established themselves north of the

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*The tribes
of the
Kalahari.*

*The
Griquas.*

¹ See above, p. 99, note.

PART I. Orange River, their principal settlement, at first called
 —♦— Klaarwater and afterwards Griquatown, lying a little to the north-east of the intersection of the 29th degree of south latitude with the 23rd degree of east longitude, and thirty miles north-west from where the combined waters of the Harts, the Vaal, and the Modder flow into the Orange River. Their chief was a man named Barend Barends, and they were joined by a band from Namaqualand under the leadership of a family of the name of Kok. Griquatown became one of the most prosperous missionary centres in South Africa; but many of the Griquas in the surrounding territory were merely ruffianly banditti, some of whom, under the name of Bergenaars or mountaineers, became notorious for their outrages, especially on the Bechuana tribes to the north. About the year 1820 party feuds broke out among the Griquas. Barends and his followers moved north of Griquatown to a place named Daniel's Kuil; the Koks and their followers went a little way to the east, and established themselves at Campbell; while the Griquas who remained behind chose for their leader Andries Waterboer, a Hottentot who had been born in the Cape Colony and brought up at one of the stations of the London Mission. Waterboer proved himself a firm and capable ruler, and in December, 1834, Sir Benjamin D'Urban entered into a formal treaty with him, by which he engaged to keep the country clear of marauders, on condition of receiving an annual subsidy of £100, an annual grant to the mission school at Griquatown of £50, to be devoted especially to teaching English to the Griqua children, and a supply of guns and ammunition. At the same time he consented to recognise the chief missionary at Griquatown in the capacity of confidential agent of the Governor. Waterboer's territory, according to Sir Benjamin D'Urban's report to the Secretary of State, then extended 'over a surface on both banks of the Orange River, nearly from the 28th to the 30th degree of south

*Andries
Waterboer.*

latitude, and from $22\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ to 25° east longitude.' His influence had, so the Governor wrote, a still wider extent, and thus the Colonial Government secured a useful ally against the freebooters who raided the Boers' flocks and herds. This treaty, one of the first formal documents of the kind between the English in South Africa and a native chieftain, was warmly approved by the Secretary of State, as embodying the pacific views of the Imperial Government; and its conclusion, it should be noted, was due to missionary influence¹.

CH. VI.



Meanwhile the other two bands of Griquas had moved further off. Barends and his company led a career of plundering until 1831, when many of them were cut off by the Matabele. The survivors were transplanted by Wesleyan missionaries to the western bank of the Caledon, within what are now the limits of the Orange Free State, and on the borders of Basutoland. There they held together till about the year 1846, but shortly afterwards dispersed and disappeared. The other and stronger party, who were *The Koks*, led by the Koks, had more of a history. One of two brothers, Adam Kok, wandered off to the east, and in 1826, established himself with his following at the mission station of Philippolis², in the southern district of the present Orange Free State. His son, also named Adam Kok, became the recognised leader of the eastern group of Griquas, as Waterboer was of the western: and in 1835, the two chiefs made a treaty, defining a boundary between their respective lands or rather, to use a modern term, their respective Spheres of Influence. Thus it was that Waterboer's territory came in time to bear the name of Griqualand West, as distinguished from Adam Kok's land, the land of the Eastern Griquas. Both chiefs were recognised by the British Government, but a different fate befel the one and the other.

¹ Papers relative to Cape of Good Hope, pt. ii. 1835, p. 114.

² Called after Dr. Philip, the eminent head of the London Mission in South Africa, on whose invitation Adam Kok came to the place.

PART I. Waterboer's territory and people remained independent, until, in 1871, after the discovery of the diamond fields,

Griqualand West.

Griqualand West, was, at the request of the Griquas themselves, annexed to the British Crown. Adam Kok's land, on the other hand, became merged in the Orange Free State, and in 1862 its old owners were removed by the Governor of the Cape far away beyond the Drakensberg mountains to an empty ceded district, whose name of No-man's land was thenceforward exchanged for that of Griqualand East.

Griqualand East.

Divisions of the Bantus.

Behind the border country, where these Griqua half-breeds roamed and dwelt, were many tribes of the widely extended Bantu race¹. In South Africa the Bantus have been classed in three main divisions. There are the Kaffirs of the coast region, the mountain tribes of Basutoland, and the Bechuana tribes of the central plateau, the Basutos and Bechuanas being more nearly allied to each other than to the coast Kaffirs. This last section included and includes various clans or groups of clans, the Kosas, to whom the preceding chapter was devoted, the Fingos, the Tembus, the Pondos, the Zulus, the Tongas, the Swazis, and other tribes whose names are now almost forgotten. The present inhabitants of Basutoland, the mountaineers of South Africa, comprise the remains of several more or less distinct tribes, whom it is unnecessary to specify by name. Of the

1. *The coast Kaffirs.*

2. *The Basutos.*

3. *The Bechuanas.*

Bechuanas the southernmost tribe was the Batlapin, Bantus but with some intermixture of Hottentot blood, and north of the Batlapin were the Baralong, the Bangwaketse, the Bakwena and others, the best known Bechuana chief at the present day being Khama, whose people bear the name of Bamangwato. The fertile well-watered lands of the coast region nourished the finest and strongest natives, physically and morally superior to their kinsmen of the interior, though

¹ For a masterly account of the Bantu tribes of South Africa reference should be made to the thirty-fourth chapter of Mr. Theal's history.

more aggressive and less easy to tame. The mountains of Basutoland gave strength and security to the tribes who took refuge there from the open country; at the same time the valleys are rich, the soil brings forth abundantly; it is a land suited to be the home of a more or less settled population of native agriculturists. On the central plains, on the other hand, the Bechuanas followed a purely pastoral life, wandering, unwarlike, the prey of stronger men.

It is not easy to take true stock of the Bantu race, as it came gradually into full view before European eyes less than a hundred years ago. How did these natives compare with the natives of other lands? Were they more or less organised? Had they greater or smaller capabilities? On what level did they stand? By what standard should they be tried? Any comparison is difficult, for it must probably be a comparison, not merely of one native race with another, but of one native race in one century with another native race in another. Africa, as a whole, has been many years and many generations behind other parts of the world, and the events which have taken place in South Africa in our own days find their true counterpart in other continents in the history of times long past. If we look back to the story of North America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, there is a record of Indian tribes who had already taken distinct form and shape, each of whom had their own country and hunting grounds, each of whom had their tribal organisation, their hereditary friends, and their hereditary foes. In one instance at least there was a trace of some higher political instinct, for the five nations of the Iroquois were banded together in a confederacy of no small strength. These North American Indians were savages, but they had a sense of patriotism, of ownership of the soil: they held together to some extent in peace and war; their homes among the Canadian backwoods and behind the New England States were not the

CH. VI.



*The
Bantus
compared
with the
North
American
Indians.*

PART I. temporary shelters of wanderers, but the abiding places of the children of the land. It was their land and the land of their fathers, given them by the Almighty ; they knew it, and they clung to their heritage with the grim fierce determination of fighting men, who had rights to be respected and homes to keep. One place was not to them as good as another. They might be exterminated, but they could not be cast out.

The Bantus of South Africa were in the main nomads.

Turning from North America to South Africa, we find at a much later period a picture of more primitive life. In the earlier years of the present century—to some extent it is still the same—the South African peoples were in a fluid state ; the land with its inhabitants was in the melting-pot of history. White men and black alike were constantly in motion, locations were being changed, tribes were passing in and out of existence. Where the Kosas met the colonists, pressure on either side tended to produce solidity, and the Kosa chiefs asserted their title to the soil with some distinctness of utterance and some clearness of perception. Yet their clans were shifted with little difficulty by the Government from one district to another, Fingos were transplanted with equal ease, Griquas were moved in the same manner. No feature, in fact, in South African history is more striking than the comparative facility with which, under British direction, the border tribes were sorted out and rearranged. In like manner, where the white man's presence was not yet felt, one tribe displaced another in quick succession. The Kaffirs went up and down through South Africa, and none could claim possession of any one district or territory by immemorial right.

Weakness of the tribal bond among the Bantus.

And not only were the peoples not attached to the soil, but the tribal bond, the tie which held one family to another, was weak and easily dissolved. The smaller clans became incorporated in the stronger, and the remnants of broken tribes united in new combinations. Thus it was that the strong man, as opposed to the hereditary chieftain, played

so prominent a part in the native history of South Africa. CH. VI.
 Before the beginning of the present century the Zulus were a small and insignificant tribe, owing a kind of feudal allegiance to a stronger people. A younger son of their chief, with no claim to succeed to his father's position, quarrelled with his father and took refuge with the head of the clan to whom the Zulus were subordinate. This paramount chief, Dingiswayo, developed a military organisation among his people; the refugee, Chaka, rose to be one of his generals; he was, on a vacancy, installed as chief of the Zulus; and, when Dingiswayo died, the soldiers chose him for their leader. Thus a member of a subordinate clan, who could not rightly claim the headship of that clan, was eventually elected to be paramount chief of the dominant people. Chaka went on as he had begun. He created a strong and rigidly disciplined army, and under his sway a union of various clans, drilled and organised, attained something like the proportions of a nation. Such was the origin of the Zulu power. It was formed not so much by a hereditary chieftain as by a successful warrior. Its basis was not the tie of kinsmanship so much as the bond of military discipline. Its units were not clans but regiments. The Zulu warriors were perhaps more nearly allied to the Turkish Janissaries than to the clansmen who two hundred years ago formed the following of a Highland chief.

The chieftain of one of the small tribes which was absorbed in this Zulu empire had a son named Umsilikasi or Moselekatse. He became one of Chaka's favourite generals, but eventually incurred his wrath, and, with the division of the army under his command, he crossed the mountains into the territory now included within the borders of the South African Republic, where, about the year 1817, he established a new military dominion on the Zulu pattern. This was the beginning of the Matabele, like the Zulus, from whom they parted, not a single tribe but a collection of

—♦♦—
*Rise of the
 Zulus.*

Chaka.

*Rise of the
 Matabele.
 Mosele-
 katse.*

PART I. regiments. Raiding and depopulating wherever they went, they were in 1837 driven by the emigrant farmers far away to the north, and for half a century, under Moselekatse and his son Lobengula, were the strongest native power between the Limpopo and Zambesi.

Rise of the Basutos. Chaka and Moselekatse, with all their courage and ability, were ruffianly savages of the worst type; but a better account can be given of a third strong man who rose to eminence among the natives of South Africa, Moshesh, the Basuto leader. He too owed little or nothing to family or hereditary prestige, but by strength of body and force of character achieved greatness. Among the shattered remnants of various tribes, he collected a number of personal followers, and established himself in the mountain fastness of Thaba Bosigo on the eastern side of the Caledon River. There he maintained himself against all comers, the mountaineers gathered round him, and refugees from the plains placed themselves under his protection. His rule, as compared with Zulu or Matabele tyranny, was mild and merciful. In his land the ministers of the Paris Evangelical Society were warmly welcomed. On its borders Wesleyan missionaries placed wandering clans, for a time in comparative security and peace. He lived to hold his own with the white men in peace and in arms, and Basutoland at the present day, well organised and administered as a British colony, owes its existence to the native warrior and statesman who from various discordant elements created a people.

Such were the Bantus when Europeans first came among them, unformed politically and socially, little inspired by love of country or love of race, living in groups which could not be called communities. Yet for this very reason there was and is hope for them in the future. Because they were so plastic, they could be more easily moulded than tribes and races which had been stereotyped in higher but imperfect forms. From what they heard or saw of white men, it

would seem that the Zulus conceived their military system. When conquered they did not pine away or die out, they exchanged masters, and learnt the arts of peace as readily as in old times the science of war. There is natural strength in the Kaffir race, a strength which does not exhaust itself in sullen isolation, capable of development on new lines and under new rules, a strength which means vitality and promise of progress. They were fortunate in that, at an early stage in their own history, they came under the rule or influence of Europeans, they were no less fortunate in that the Europeans who overpowered them were not the Europeans of two hundred years ago. Much has been done, no doubt, even in our own days, which might have been left undone, and much has been done which might have been better done; but after all the white men, under whose control the native races of South Africa have passed and are passing, have reached a higher level of humanity than their forefathers.

‘The interior of Africa, at no great distance from this settlement, appears to be in a state of great commotion, and for some years past various powerful tribes have been pressing to the southward, driving the weaker ones before them, from whom many fugitives, under different appellations, have obtained refuge in the colony¹.’ So wrote the acting Governor of the Cape, General Bourke, to the Secretary of State in October, 1827. *The Zulu conquests.*

The native history of South Africa fills but a small and obscure place in the history of the world, but it may be doubted whether at any time or in any place could be found a record of such wholesale extermination as was wrought, directly or indirectly, by Chaka and his Zulu warriors in the first thirty years of the present century. Tribe after tribe was overpowered and massacred. Those who fled

¹ Papers relative to Cape of Good Hope, pt. ii. 1835, p. 22.

PART I. before the invaders hurled themselves on other peoples. The fertile, thickly peopled districts of Natal were desolated, and the hand of the destroyer was felt, from the country of the Kosas on the south, to the wild territory on the north where the Swazis could not be subdued. Even over the Drakensberg mountains the Zulus followed their prey, and where they stopped their kinsmen the Matabele took up the tale of slaughter. Not far short of a million human beings are supposed to have been blotted out, partly in the mere lust of bloodshed, partly in the instinct of self-preservation.

An irruption of flying tribes over the north-eastern boundary of the colony, and news that Chaka was preparing to invade the Kosas, gave to the Colonial Government some indication of what had been taking place, though the horrible thoroughness of this savage revolution was only fully appreciated in after times. That it should be so appreciated is of no small importance to those who would read aright South African history. We are told much of European aggressiveness, but hear little of European protection. We have highly drawn pictures of white men taking the black men's lives and lands in greed of gain and lust of conquest. Yet beyond the reach of Dutch or English influence and control, natives butchered one another in hundreds of thousands, and the land was left bare without inhabitants.

*Early
British
settlers in
Natal.*

As far back as the year 1689 the Dutch Company went through the form of buying from the natives the shores of the Bay of Natal¹. They never utilised their purchase even to the extent of forming a station there, as for a few years one was formed at Delagoa Bay², and nothing is heard of Natal in connexion with European colonisation until the year 1823. In that year a scheme for establishing trade with the natives in south-eastern Africa was started at

¹ See above, p. 64.

² See above, p. 83.

Capetown, and a brig was sent to Natal. The first voyage was unsuccessful, principally owing to difficulties in landing ; but in the following year another voyage was undertaken, with better results. The leaders of the enterprise had from the first been two men of the name of Farewell and King, both at one time officers in the Royal Navy¹, and among other names which occur in the narrative are those of Fynn, Ogle, and a man called John Cane. They made friends with Chaka, and from that chief Farewell obtained in August, 1824, a grant of the port of Natal with the surrounding country for 100 miles inland, and a coast-line of ten miles to the south and twenty-five miles to the north. This territory the owner proclaimed to be a British possession. Subsequently, Fynn obtained another grant from the Zulu king of the southern portion of the present colony of Natal as far as the Umzimkulu River. The districts which were nominally ceded were, owing to the Zulu wars, almost depopulated, but gradually native fugitives gathered round the white men, who became in some sort leaders of clans under the paramount rule of Chaka. The position of the adventurers was dangerous to the last degree. They depended on Chaka's personal friendship, they traded with him alone, they had on occasions to act as emissaries from him to the Governor of the Cape, and appearing with his armies they incurred the displeasure of the Imperial Government. Chaka was assassinated in 1828, and succeeded by his half-brother Dingaan, more treacherous and hardly if at all less bloodthirsty. Twice the Europeans fled for their lives, but twice returned, and in 1834 Dingaan

CH. VI.

*Chaka's
grant to
Lieut.
Farewell.*

*Chaka suc-
ceeded by
Dingaan.*

¹ In 1828 Lieut. Farewell was regarded as still on leave from the Royal Navy, for the Secretary of State wrote that in view of 'Englishmen having been seen fighting in the ranks of the Zoolas against the Kaffirs' . . . a letter was to be sent to him 'for the purpose of intimating to him that if he should be found to have given his countenance to Chaka in this chief's projects against the Kaffirs, his leave of absence will be recalled.' Papers relative to Cape of Good Hope, pt. ii. 1835, p. 33.

PART I.



*Captain
Allen Gar-
diner.*

withdrew his warriors from the coast district to give encouragement and confidence to the white traders. Two years before it had been contemplated to place a responsible officer of the British Government at Natal, and in June 1834, the Governor of the Cape, Sir Benjamin D'Urban, forwarded to Downing Street a petition from a large number of Cape merchants praying 'for the formation of a government establishment at Port Natal, with an adequate military force for the protection of the trade with that place¹.' The answer was a polite refusal on the grounds of expense. From the correspondence on the subject it appears that an impression had gained ground that the government of the United States, anxious to find footholds for American trade in the Southern seas, was likely to take possession of Natal. There came, however, from America not soldiers nor sailors, but missionaries, who in 1835 established themselves in Dingaan's land. In the same year Captain Allen Gardiner, author of *A Narrative of a Journey to the Zulu Country*, arrived as a pioneer of missionary enterprise on behalf of the Church of England. Thus the trader and the missionary were preparing the ground for colonisation, and in the worst stronghold of savagery civilised man was setting foot. The little band of Europeans at the port drew up plans of a regular township, they subscribed for a church, they christened their territory Victoria, and their prospective town Durban. They petitioned to be adopted as a colony², but again the Imperial Government held its hand. Meanwhile Dutch immigrants, the trekkers from the south-west,

¹ Papers relative to Cape of Good Hope, pt. ii. 1835, p. 95.

² The petition of 1835 from 'the householders of the town of D'urban, Port Natal' ran as follows:—'That it may please His Majesty to recognise the country intervening between the Umzimkulu and Tugela rivers, which we have named Victoria in honour of our august princess, as a colony of the British Empire, and to appoint a Governor and Council with power to enact such laws and regulations as may be deemed expedient by them in concert with a body of representatives chosen by ourselves to constitute a House of Assembly.'

were beginning to find their way over the mountains, and in sorrow and suffering the land of Natal was yet to be won. CH. VI. —

In 1836 began the great Boer trek from the eastern and northern districts of the Cape Colony. The farmers went out in groups of families, taking with them in their ox waggon their wives and children and their worldly goods¹. North and north-east they went, into the lands now mapped out as the Orange Free State, the South African Republic, and Natal; and the names of various places tell of what they did, of what they suffered, and of the men who led them. The village of Winburg, in the Orange Free State, takes its name from a victory over the Matabele; Weenen in Natal, the place of weeping, was the scene of a massacre by Dingaan's Zulu warriors; Lydenburg in the South African Republic recalls sufferings endured by an advanced party of emigrants in 1845; Hendrik Potgieter gave his name to Potchefstroom, Pretorius to Pretoria, Pieter Retief and Gerrit Maritz to Pietermaritzburg. Anxious to move beyond the reach of the British Government, the emigrants were at the same time practical farmers, seeking for the best land whereon to make their new homes. Delagoa Bay was known by repute; a party of Cape farmers had lately prospected in Natal; and pioneer bands of trekkers made their way to the Zoutpansberg in the north of the Transvaal, finding new vegetation and traces of iron and gold. To the east, they knew, was the land of promise; to the east was the outlet to the sea; but, as the direct route was barred by the Kosa Kaffirs and the mountain heights of Basutoland, they started north over the Orange River, and made their first foothold in the Orange Free State. Whichever way they went, unless they faced starvation in the Kalahari desert, there was fighting to be done. On the

*The great
Boer Trek.*

¹ The number of emigrants has been vaguely estimated at from 5,000 to 10,000.

PART I. plateau were the Matabele. On the seaward side of the
 —♦— mountains were the Zulus.

*The Trek-
 kers in the
 Orange
 Free State.*

*Defeat of
 the Matabele.*

One of the earliest parties, led by Potgieter, took up ground which now forms the northern district of the Orange Free State, lying between the Vet and the Vaal Rivers. The territory was ceded by a native chief, who was promised in return protection against the Matabele. Some of the emigrants strayed on further to the north, and some were cut off by Moselekatse; but more and more farmers kept coming in from the colony, and by the end of 1837, the Matabele, weakened in the meantime by a defeat at the hands of the Zulus, were hunted out of the land which they had made desolate, and fled far to the north beyond the Limpopo. Thus the north of the Orange Free State, most if not all of the Transvaal, and Bechuanaland, lay open to the emigrants, who proclaimed it to be theirs by the right of the sword.

*Settlement
 at Win-
 burg.*

Before the Matabele had been finally driven out, the beginning of a permanent settlement was made at Winburg. In June, 1837, a Volksraad was elected to enact what simple laws might be necessary, and Pieter Retief, a colonist of Huguenot descent, who had been one of the leading men in the Albany district of the Cape Colony, was chosen to be Commandant-general. But Winburg was the beginning not the end of wandering, jealousy and dissension between one leader and another led to dispersion, and bands went off in different directions to encounter new perils and colonise new lands.

*The Boer
 emigrants
 in Natal.*

Retief himself, in October, 1837, crossed the Drakensberg mountains into Natal, to examine the country with a view to occupation, and to procure permission from the Zulu king to form a settlement. Warmly welcomed by the Englishmen at the port, and received by Dingaan with outward friendliness, he returned to the main body of his followers and brought them over the mountains. On the

southern side of the Tugela River the farmers waited, scattered here and there, while their leader, with some sixty companions, paid a second visit to Dingaan. He never came back, but was massacred with the whole of his company, and in a second massacre at the emigrants' halting place, since known as Weenen, white men, women, and children were slaughtered to the number of nearly three hundred. From beyond the Drakensberg more Dutchmen came down to aid the survivors, and the Englishmen at Port Natal with their black adherents made common cause against the common foe. But Boers and Englishmen alike fell out amongst themselves, and at first little headway was made against the Zulus. A Dutch commando was roughly handled, and one of its leaders Pieter Uys was killed; the settlement at the port was overrun and broken up; and when some of the English traders ventured back to the place, few in number, they ceded their rights to the Dutchmen, who now styled themselves the 'Association of South African Emigrants.'

CH. VI.



The massacre at Weenen.

Doggedly the Boers held their ground against Dingaan, though suffering from distress and want of proper food; fresh numbers of their countrymen joined them from time to time; and towards the end of 1838 a capable man took command, Andries Pretorius. Then came the day of reckoning with the crafty ruffian who ruled the Zulus. In December, 1838, a body of determined Dutchmen crossed the Tugela, and on the banks of a stream, since known as the Blood River, laid low some three thousand savages. Marching on the king's kraal they found it in flames and Dingaan a fugitive, though still strong enough to be dangerous. Less than a year later, a younger brother of Dingaan, Panda by name, rose against him and secured the Boers' support. Dingaan was utterly defeated and eventually assassinated, and Panda was installed as king of the Zulus north of the Tugela River, owning allegiance

Andries Pretorius.

Defeat of Dingaan and the Zulus.

Dingaan succeeded by Panda as king of the Zulus.

PART I. to the emigrant farmers, who claimed to be supreme from
 ——— St. Lucia Bay on the north to where the Umzimvubu River
 pours itself into the sea through the gates of St. John.

*Successes of
the Boers.* Thus, between 1836 and 1840, the Boers who had
 trekked from the Cape Colony had driven out the Matabele
 and broken the Zulus. They had established a claim to
 a great extent of inland territory north of the Orange River,
 and on the eastern coast to a district larger than and
 inclusive of the present colony of Natal. They had done
 much fighting and done it well, for they had fought in their
 own old-fashioned way. The commando system was well
 suited to South African warfare. The farmers came out,
 each with his horse and gun, well mounted, expert marks-
 men, led by one of themselves. Their fortresses were
 waggons, they fought as hunters of men. While disciplined
 British troops moved slowly forward in orthodox fashion,
 obeying out of season the rules learnt in European cam-
 paigns, the Cape Boer carried into war the habits and
 customs of his own irregular border life. Few against many
 they faced the savages, they had fire-arms and could use
 them, they had horses and could ride them. The wild
 free life of South Africa was to their liking, they fought
 for their wives and their children, as their fathers and fore-
 fathers had fought, their stern Puritan minds were not
 troubled with misgivings, they entered in and took the land
 of the heathen in possession.

The Dutchmen were not politicians—and never had been.
 They knew little and cared little for constitutions. Personal
 freedom they valued, the absence of restraint rather than
 the power to discipline and organise themselves and others.
*The Boer
Republic
in Natal.* In Natal they set up a republic with a very simple form of
 government, which practically amounted to no government at
 all. They could co-operate for offence and defence. Other-
 wise, they had practically little bond of union beyond the tie
 of common blood and common speech. Pietermaritzburg

was their chief settlement, and their other stations were Weenen and Port Natal. On the western side of the Drakensberg mountains two districts were formed, the district of Winburg south of the Vaal, the district of Potchefstroom to the north of that river. Potgieter was in chief command over both these districts, Pretorius was leader in Natal. There was a Volksraad for Winburg and Potchefstroom, and a larger Volksraad for Natal: and, for matters which concerned the whole of the emigrants, it was arranged that the two assemblies should combine and take counsel at Pietermaritzburg.

CH. VI.

—+—
*The Republics
 north and
 south of the
 Vaal.*

While these events were taking place, the British Government at home and the Government of the Cape Colony were in doubt and difficulty. A large number of British subjects had left the colony. They claimed to have renounced their allegiance. They claimed to have founded independent communities. Was this claim to be allowed? Was the European power, which since 1806 had been unchallenged in South Africa, to recognise in men who had seceded, and in a sense revolted, independent co-partners in the work of colonising South Africa? They were the men the accounts of whose dealings towards the natives had inspired the policy of the Secretaries of State. Were they to carry those dealings into the interior and on to the east coast, and outside English rule to work their will upon the black men? On the other hand, the old note of weariness, almost of despair, was ever ringing in the ears of English statesmen. The empire is too large already, its burden is too great, there must be no more annexation, no more lands or peoples to rule. As has usually resulted in English history, matters settled themselves in blundering fashion, not wholly as might have been wished, yet not altogether as badly as might have been expected. So far as there was any foresight or policy, it was probably created by the fact that the emigrants reached the sea and obtained

*Attitude of
 the British
 Govern-
 ment
 towards the
 Trekkers.*

PART I. possession of Port Natal; and what actually took place was
 —♦— that the British Government regained and kept Natal, while in the interior the Boers eventually secured their independence. The reason is obvious. The keepers of the sea are the keepers of South Africa. A Boer republic in the interior was more or less isolated and self-contained, a Boer republic on the seaboard might have invited the interference of other nations rivals of the English.

Durban, the port of Natal, bears the name of an English governor of the Cape. The inland town of Pietermaritzburg is called after two Dutchmen. The beginning of English colonisation came in from the sea. The Dutch element came over the mountains. The English had priority in time, but they were only a handful; the British Government refused to recognise them as a colony, and the scanty remnant of a very small band of traders threw in their lot with the Dutch. In July, 1838, General Napier, who had succeeded Sir Benjamin D'Urban at the Cape, issued a proclamation, referring to the emigrants as being British subjects¹, inviting them to return to the Cape Colony with a promise that their grievances should be redressed, and intimating that at his convenience he would take possession of the port of Natal. In the following November he sent a small detachment of troops to keep command of the port, and in vain he pressed the home government to declare Natal to be a British Colony. Temporary and military occupation of the harbour was approved by Lord Glenelg and his successor Lord Normanby, but their consent could not be won to the extension of British dominion in South Africa. Under these circumstances the Governor considered the presence of the soldiers in Natal to be useless

*A British
garrison
placed at
Durban in
1838*

¹ As British subjects they came within the terms of an Imperial Act of 1836 [6 and 7 Will. 4, cap. 57] by which the criminal law of the Cape Colony was made applicable to all His Majesty's subjects 'within any territory adjacent to the said colony and being to the southward of the twenty-fifth degree of south latitude.'

and possibly misleading; and at the end of 1839 the detachment was withdrawn. Some months passed, the Boers gave outward form and shape to their republic, and began to negotiate with the Governor for formal recognition of their independence, asking in September 1840 to be acknowledged as a free and independent people, but with the privileges of British subjects, and in the following January, in bolder and more explicit terms, to be recognised as a republic in close alliance with Great Britain. In the meantime, however, the colonisation of Natal under the British flag was urged both in England and at the Cape. Lord John Russell, now Secretary of State, began to yield to pressure, and the farmers damaged their cause by their dealings with the natives.

CH. VI.
—→
*but with-
drawn in
1839.*

The territory which they claimed south of the Umzimkulu River was claimed also, in whole or part, by Faku the leading chieftain of the Pondo tribe, who had been for some years in alliance with the Cape Government, and who was held to that alliance by the influence of Wesleyan missionaries. A cattle raid by a neighbouring and rival clan led to reprisals on the part of the farmers, and a commando, headed by Pretorius, killed some of the natives and carried off captives and plunder. The Pondo chief, fearing that his own turn would come next, appealed for protection to the Governor of the Cape Colony, and his appeal was answered by the despatch of a party of troops, early in 1841, to take up a station in his country. Meanwhile, relieved from fear of the Zulus, the remnants of broken tribes were finding their way back to Natal; and, as their number grew, the farmers' Volksraad resolved to locate them in this same border-land—the debateable district south of the Umzimkulu. Such a resolution was, in the eyes of the Cape Government, an infringement of the Pondo territory, and fraught with danger for the future; for it gave ground for fear that pressure from the side of Natal would drive the Kaffir

*The Boers
raid the
natives.*

PART I. clans one on another, until the Cape Colony was again
 ——— overrun¹. At the same time, a new source of anxiety
 was discovered in an American trading ship, which came
 to Natal and did some business at the harbour. It was
 the beginning, so it seemed to the Cape merchants, of
 foreign traffic with and foreign interference in South Africa,
 by a port and a route over which their government had
 no control. It seemed clear that some decided action must
 be taken, and in April 1842 the troops from Faku's
 country were marched on into Natal to resume occupation
 of the port.

*Durban
 again
 garrisoned
 by British
 troops in
 1842.*

A few weeks before they arrived, a Dutch vessel had
 appeared on the scene. She had been sent out by a firm
 of merchants in the Netherlands, fired by sympathy with
 their countrymen in South Africa, and by the hope of
 establishing a new branch of trade. The farmers inter-
 preted the visit as an indication that they would receive
 support and protection from the Netherlands Government,
 and, strong in this belief, they sent protests to the com-
 mander of the British troops, who had taken up his position
 at the head of the port. The protests were followed by
 open warfare; and, defeated in a night attack upon the
 Boer forces, the Englishmen were closely besieged in their
 camp. Before they could be starved out, however, reinforce-
 ments arrived by sea, the siege was speedily raised, the
 farmers broke up, and in July 1842 their representatives
 tendered submission to the authority of the Queen. The
 final issue was still uncertain, and remained so for some

*Fighting
 between the
 garrison
 and the
 Boers.*

*Submission
 of the
 Boers.*

¹ Before the date of this Boer commando, and before this resolution of the Volksraad, Major Charters, who had commanded the first detachment of troops which occupied Port Natal in 1838-9, writing in the United Service Journal in November, 1839, enumerated the tribes between Natal and the Cape Colony, and added :—' It does not appear to me to be beyond the chances of possibility that, in the course of one or two generations, the emigrants who are now settling in the Natal country may be the nucleus of a power capable of moving this host against the colony and besieging the English in Cape Castle.'

months, while the Governor and the Secretary of State were interchanging views. At length, in April 1843, Lord Stanley being then Secretary of State, a despatch arrived at the Cape which intimated that Natal and the settlers in Natal should be taken under British protection and placed under British law, though the wishes of the Boers were to be consulted as far as possible in regard to such local institutions as might be required. Their wishes were to be ascertained by a special Commissioner, any bonâ-fide land claims were to be respected, and Natal was to be constituted in some sort a self-governing colony, provided that British law and British sovereignty was maintained, that no distinction was made between black or white in the eye of the law, that no slavery was tolerated, and no unauthorised aggression permitted upon natives residing beyond the limits of the colony.

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The Commissioner arrived in June, 1843, and found all in confusion. The Netherlands Government had disowned the intrigues of its subjects, but those intrigues were still proceeding. Native refugees from Zululand were flocking into the country. The Boer Government had collapsed, and the scene was one of anarchy. Yet the mass of the farmers were still antagonistic to British rule, and large numbers came down from the plateau to stiffen their resistance. They debated, they squabbled, the men threatened and the women talked; but, when the Commissioner announced that the Drakensberg would be recommended as the boundary of the future colony, the fighting Boers from the interior went back over the mountains, and left their comrades to take care of themselves. Eventually, the terms which the Governor offered were accepted, the farmers asking that Natal should be kept distinct from the Cape, having its own elected Legislative Council and such simple machinery of government as they could trust and understand. By agreement with the Zulu king, Panda, the

*Final
annexation
of Natal
and rectifi-
cation of its
frontiers.*

PART I. Umzimyati or Buffalo River, from its source to its meeting with the Tugela, and the Tugela to the sea, was constituted the northern boundary of the colony, giving to Natal a large piece of territory between the Buffalo and the Upper Tugela, and St. Lucia Bay was also ceded to the British Crown. On the other hand, no pretence was made of any longer treating Zululand and its king as under the suzerainty of the Natal Government. On the south, the frontier of the colony was moved back to the Umzimkulu River, and up to that river the territory which the Boers had previously claimed was assigned to Faku, the Pondo chief.

Causes of the animosity of the Boers against the British Government.

Thus Natal became a British Colony, and a British Colony it has remained. The story, of which a scanty outline has been given above, is not a pleasant one for an Englishman to read or record. There must have been mismanagement and needless misunderstanding to inspire the South African Dutchmen who trekked to Natal with such deeply rooted mistrust of British rule. They protested against it, they fought against it, and, when the end came, they most of them left the country. That such animosity should have grown up and taken root speaks little for the tact and wisdom of the politicians who handled South African matters. Some bad feeling was inevitable, as the outcome of the conflict and contrast between different views of life. The difference was not so much between Dutch and English, as between men who were modelled on the lines of the seventeenth or eighteenth century, and those who were inspired by the progressive, humanitarian, but withal wavering spirit of the nineteenth century. Yet true statesmanship finds ways of compromise and reconciliation, of healing breaches, before the iron enters into the soul and the bitterness of the fathers is inherited by the children. The golden mean was not discovered in South Africa, or rather it was not discovered in England for South Africa; and rough, untutored, obstinate men were perpetually perplexed

by dealings which varied with shifting public opinion at the other end of the world. They might have obeyed, if they could have understood. They might have trusted, if one year and another had not brought new proofs of doubt and hesitation on the part of the rulers. To proclaim but not to enforce, to advance and again to withdraw, to be strong one day and to be weak another, is to alienate the understandings and the affections of men.

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For some years after the English became masters of the Cape, the difficulties which South Africa presented as a field of European colonisation were considerable, but from 1835 onward they were enormously increased. What had been comparatively simple became complex. Instead of one colony under one government, different European states came into being, varying in their institutions, their views, and their dealings towards the native races and one another. South Africa became the scene of diplomacy and civil war. Foreign interference was talked of, Kaffir chiefs learnt to play one section of white men against another. All was changed from the time when Great Britain took over a small Dutch dependency with few outlying liabilities beyond those which the acts of frontier settlers imposed upon the Government. In part it was inevitable. Growth and extension could not take place without complication and disunion. But in great measure the difficulties were artificially created by not appreciating the time and not knowing the place.

Growing complication of South African politics.

When the wandering Dutch farmers looked down from the mountains on the land of Natal, it seemed to them a place of smiling beauty. They won it from the Zulus, and suffering endeared it to them, for friends and wives and children lay butchered beneath its soil. Yet no such ties availed against their love of independence or dislike of British rule, and the greater number soon retraced their steps to the dusty plains of the interior. The Boers who lived or roamed beyond

PART I.

—♦—
*The Boers
 north of
 the Vaal,*

*and south
 of that
 river.*

the Vaal, at a secure distance from the colony, had taken no part in resistance to the English in Natal. Potgieter was their leader and held them back, a clear-headed and moderate man. His policy and that of his followers was to keep beyond reach of interference from the colonial government, and between 1843 and 1847 many of this section of the emigrant farmers moved north-east from Potchefstroom in the direction of Delagoa Bay, founding in 1845 and 1846 the villages of Ohriststad and Lydenburg. Still they maintained a connexion with their brethren south of the Vaal. In the territory between the Vaal and the Orange Rivers law and order were at a discount. In the northern part of the district the Boer assembly at Winburg held nominal authority, though not recognised by the Cape Government, while further south, in the districts watered by the Modder, the Riet, the Caledon, and the Orange Rivers, were numbers of farmers, some of whom had not disowned or were ready to resume allegiance to the British Crown, while others were bitter partisans of Boer independence. Here was the land of Adam Kok, the Griqua chief, and eastward of his territory Moshesh the Basuto chief was consolidating his power and extending his influence and his claims outside and beyond his mountain home.

*The
 Governor
 forbids
 Boer en-
 croach-
 ments on
 the lands
 of the
 Griquas
 and the
 Basutos.*

Temporising and vacillating as ever was the policy of the Government. In September, 1842, Sir George Napier issued a proclamation forbidding encroachments by British subjects—and British subjects the Boer emigrants were still held to be—upon the Griquas, the Basutos, or other native tribes. A few weeks later a colonial judge, who was on circuit in the north of the Cape Colony, crossed the Orange River, and on his own responsibility proclaimed British sovereignty over the whole territory, from the Orange River northward to the twenty-fifth parallel of latitude, and from the twenty-second degree of longitude to the eastern ocean. The proclamation covered the present Orange Free State, the southern half of the Transvaal, Griqualand and Bechuanaland on the west, Natal

on the east. It was a bold move, too bold for the Government to adopt. The proclamation was disallowed, the land was not claimed as British territory, but its white inhabitants were still claimed as British subjects. These same British subjects quarrelled with the natives and with one another, and the next step taken by the Government was, in 1843, to make treaties with the Griqua Adam Kok and the Basuto Moshesh, by which they were given the advantages of British alliance and protection, and acknowledged as owners and rulers of the border territory north of the Orange River, the Griqua on the west, the Basuto on the east. Excluded from the terms of these treaties the emigrants were further embittered. What was to them the rule or the pretension of a leader of half-breeds or a native chieftain? Black men were treated as allies of the Government, white men as rebellious subjects. For the former was friendship, protection, and independence, for the latter wordy proclamations and empty exhortations to obedience. 'Are we then worse' wrote Pretorius at a little later date, 'are we more contemptible than the coloured population? To them are acknowledged and secured the lands they have inherited; to them are allowed the privileges of self-government and their own laws; but as soon as we whites are on the same lands, which we have justly obtained from them, these privileges are immediately taken from us, so that we may justly say that we do not even share equally with the coloured tribes; but that now, though all other creatures enjoy rights and liberties, we are constantly constrained to be in fetters.' And again, 'We will rather await the merciful settlement of the great Creator than longer to wrestle under the feet of every petty coloured people¹.' Quarrels broke out between the Griquas and the farmers who were in their land, the

CH. VI.

*Adam Kok
and
Moshesh
formally
acknowledged by
the British
Government.*

¹ Pretorius and about 900 others to Sir Harry Smith July 18, 1848, and Pretorius and other commandants to the same August 10, 1848:—Correspondence relative to the settlement of Natal and the recent rebellion of the Boers, May, 1849, pp. 24, 27.

PART I. Boers took up arms, and a small force of troops was moved up from the colony to support Adam Kok. At a place named Zwartkopjes a slight skirmish took place, and the farmers were without difficulty dispersed. The Governor, Sir Peregrine Maitland, then modified the terms of the Griqua treaty, dividing Adam Kok's land into two parts, one of which was to remain the inalienable property of the Griqua people, while in the other, under the dominion of the Griqua chief, supported by a British resident, who was stationed at Bloemfontein¹, European settlement was to be freely allowed. This arrangement was made in June, 1845, and similar negotiations were entered into with the Basutos, though without any definite result.

—♦—
*The
skirmish
at Zwart-
kopjes.*

Meanwhile delay was taking place in the permanent settlement of Natal as a British colony, claims of farmers were outstanding, large numbers of natives were coming into the country and obtaining locations, and the Dutchmen who had not yet left were becoming more and more restless and discontented. At length, in 1847, they sent Pretorius as their spokesman to the Cape Colony to lay in person their grievances before the Governor. He went but was not received, and came back with popular sympathy and with bitterness of heart. More emigrants followed him over the Orange River, and the wave of disaffection gathered strength.

*Mission of
Pretorius
to the Cape
Colony on
behalf of
the Boer
farmers in
Natal.*

Arrival of Pretorius had hardly come and gone when a new Governor, Sir Harry Smith, landed at the Cape. Of all men he was most likely to reconcile the Dutch farmers to British rule, to confirm those who wavered in their allegiance, and to win back others who had already renounced it. Had he been on the spot some years earlier, it is possible that his dealings might have been entirely successful. As it was, at first he nearly achieved success. The Boers remembered his bold

*Arrival of
Sir Harry
Smith.*

¹ Bloemfontein was then a farm and was handed over to be the headquarters of the British resident. From this date, 1845, it took its rise as the future capital of the Orange Free State.

and skilful defence of the colony in the great Kaffir war of 1835, how he had been the right hand of Sir Benjamin D'Urban in carrying out the settlement of the Eastern frontier, which they had approved and which Lord Glenelg had reversed. That he understood the colonists and their views, and sympathised with them, they could not doubt. He knew them and they knew him. Unconventional in speech and action, arbitrary but kind-hearted, prompt in doing and fearless in responsibility, ever using the Bible language of the Puritan soldier, he was not merely an official but a man who could deal with men. Strange and grotesque as some of his despatches and proclamations appear to be, when read at the present day, his utterances not only expressed the real feelings of a deeply religious man, but were well calculated to carry conviction to the minds of native chiefs and wandering Boers. In a manifesto, which concludes with a prayer, he addressed the farmers as 'half-lost friends and wavering Christians,' and appealed to their feelings 'as men, as fathers of families, as reasoning human beings possessing immortal souls'.¹ His language to Moshesh was in this strain: 'The creed of all good men is that there is one God over all, white and black'.² Thus, in words which Dutchmen had known and revered from time immemorial, and which missionaries were ever making familiar to the ears of natives, he strove to win back the affections of both races.

He had left the colony at the end of one Kaffir war. He came back to it at the end of another; and one of his first acts, as has been told³, was to enlarge British territory to the north and to the east, so that on the north the Orange River became the boundary of the Cape Colony from the Atlantic Ocean to the outskirts of Basutoland.

¹ Correspondence relative to the state of the Kaffir tribes, &c., July, 1848, p. 78.

² Correspondence relative to the establishment of the settlement of Natal and the recent rebellion of the Boers, May, 1849, p. 64.

³ See above, p. 164.

PART I.

His visit
to the
Trans-
Orange
territories
and Natal.

He re-
assures the
disaffected
farmers of
Natal.

Within a few weeks after his arrival at the Cape, having in the mean time visited and re-arranged the frontier, he crossed, towards the end of January, 1848, into the disturbed territory north of the Orange River. There he had a conference with Adam Kok, confining that chieftain's jurisdiction and authority to the inalienable Griqua reserve; he also met Moshesh, the Basuto chief, and obtained his consent to a future proclamation of sovereignty over his land. Passing, as was afterwards described, 'like a meteor'¹ through the country, and hearing only the views of those who were in favour of British rule, he hurried on to Natal to stem, if possible, the tide of emigration from that country which was then taking place, and on the banks of the Tugela he met the farmers. 'On my arrival at the foot of the Drakensberg mountains,' he wrote, 'I was almost paralysed to witness the whole population, with few exceptions, trekking. Rains on this side of the mountains are tropical, and now prevail; the country is intersected by considerable streams, frequently impassable; and these families were exposed to a state of misery which I never before saw equalled, except in Massena's invasion of Portugal².' He listened to their complaints, which were many, 'but all expressive of a want of confidence and liberality as to land on the part of the Government,' and he appointed at once a Land Commission for Natal, with the avowed object of securing good and extensive farms to the settlers who were on the point of leaving the country. Pretorius, their leader, he named as a member of the Commission, holding him to be 'a shrewd, sensible man.' Within two or three months he saw cause to alter this opinion, and Pretorius was written down a 'rebel' and 'arch agitator,' for whose apprehension was offered the sum of one thousand pounds.

¹ Further correspondence relative to the state of the Orange River Territory, May, 1853, p. 51.

² Correspondence relative to the establishment of the settlement of Natal, July, 1848, p. 212.

While still by the Tugela, interviewing the Natal Boers, CH. VI.
 Sir Harry Smith put forth a memorable proclamation, dated
 February 3, 1848, and declaring the whole territory between
 the Orange and the Vaal Rivers, as far east as the Drakensberg
 mountains, to be under the sovereignty of the Queen. It
 would seem that he communicated his intention of doing so
 to Pretorius, who warned him that the farmers would not
 submit. That the Governor under-estimated the number of
 possible opponents, and over-estimated his own personal
 influence, there can be little doubt. Had he been longer in
 the country, he would have known how deeply rooted in the
 minds of the majority of the Boers was antipathy to British
 rule. The proclamation covered the district of Winburg,
 where for some ten years past there had been a semblance
 of republican government. A British Resident in charge of
 the whole territory was stationed at Bloemfontein, and two
 Assistant Commissioners were appointed, one for Winburg,
 one for the Caledon River. Resenting the measure, the
 farmers took up arms, and before the end of July, Pretorius,
 at the head of a strong burgher commando, was master of
 the whole territory, and encamped on its southern border, the
 bank of the Orange River.

*British
sovereignty
proclaimed
over the
territory
between the
Orange
and the
Vaal
Rivers.*

*The Boers
take up
arms,*

On hearing the news, Sir Harry Smith acted with prompt
 decision. He moved up a sufficient body of troops from Cape-
 town, crossed the Orange River, the farmers falling back
 before him, and joined by a party of Griquas and some of
 the Dutchmen who had not followed Pretorius, he came into
 collision with the latter and his party on August 29, 1848.
 The scene of the fight was Boomplatz, to the south-west of
 Bloemfontein, halfway between that place and the Orange
 River. Here the road ran over broken ground, between
 ridges of stony hills, giving shelter behind the boulders to
 men who fought in irregular fashion, depending not on drill
 or on military evolution, but on the straightness of their aim
 and the skill of their hand. A heavy fire was poured on the

*and are
defeated at
Boom-
plats.*

PART I. — advancing troops, causing some confusion and loss of life, but they were led by an old soldier, experienced in guerilla warfare. The guns were brought up, one hill after another was carried, and a fight, described as 'one of the most severe skirmishes ever witnessed',¹ ended in the defeat and dispersion of the farmers. No further resistance was made. The most determined enemies of the Government fled over the Vaal; others who had been concerned in the rebellion were fined. A fort was built at Bloemfontein and garrisoned; and at Winburg on September 7, the Queen's dominion over the whole country between the Orange River and the Vaal was again proclaimed.

*The
Orange
River
Sovereignty.*

The Governor had triumphed, but a rude shock had been given to the policy of conciliation. The fight at Boomplatz, coming after the hostilities which had taken place in Natal, showed that at least a large section of the Boers would yield only to superior force, and were not to be won back to their allegiance by friendly words and fatherly proclamations. The Orange River Territory, or the Orange River Sovereignty, as it was officially termed, was now divided into four instead of three districts, the northernmost part of the territory, which had previously been included in the Winburg district, being constituted a separate district, under the title of the district of Vaal River. The appointment of Landdrost or Civil Commissioner in this district was offered to Hendrik Potgieter, the Transvaal leader, who had studiously held aloof from taking arms against the British Government. But he declined the appointment, as Pretorius had before refused to serve on the Land Commission of Natal, and stayed at a safe distance from the border. Pretorius, too, was in the Transvaal, biding his time. In the following year, 1849, a kind of constitution was given to the territory, two burgher members from each

¹ From Sir H. Smith's account of the engagement in a despatch, printed at p. 44, of Correspondence relative to the establishment of the settlement of Natal and the recent rebellion of the Boers, July, 1848.

of the four districts, who were nominated by the Governor, being associated with the British Resident and the four magistrates or Civil Commissioners to form a Legislative Council. New settlers, many of them English, came in from the Cape Colony; the European population grew in numbers; 'flourishing villages suddenly sprang up, and the apparently waste lands of a year or two previous became studded with substantial homesteads¹.' Still there was an undercurrent of discontent, which grew stronger while the months went on; and, as a new Kaffir war distracted the attention and absorbed the forces of the Government of the Cape, British authority beyond the Orange River became perceptibly weakened.

Various causes tended to undermine it. After no long interval, the English settlers, as well as the Dutch, began to feel the want of some measure of self-government, and to ask for an elective element in their council. They were dominated by the British Resident, who on the other hand had not sufficient force at his back to ensure obedience and to give security of life and property. When the Sovereignty was first proclaimed, a system was contemplated which should be based not on force but on voluntary adherence, inexpensive, self-supporting, not needing to be subsidised with men or money. The white colonists in the territory were to provide for self-defence, and by the original proclamation their tenure of land was guaranteed 'upon the condition that every able-bodied man turns out in the defence of Her Majesty and her allies either with arms or as special constables, as may be required by the British Resident and Magistrate.' The condition would have been reasonable, had the territory been the home of white men alone; but this was not the case. It included large native reserves, the clans in which were constantly taking up arms against one another. In any outbreak of the kind, one party or

CH. VI



*Growing
weakness
of British
authority
beyond the
Orange
River.*

¹ Further correspondence relative to the state of the Orange River Territory, May, 1853, p. 53.

PART I.



the other was necessarily supported by the Government and treated as an ally of the Queen, and the Burghers were in consequence perpetually under orders to take part in a native quarrel in which they had no concern.

*Troubles
with the
Basutos.*

In the region of the Caledon River were various Bechuana clans, located on the borders of Basutoland. Between one and another, and between most of them and the Basutos, there were constant feuds. There were chiefs and missionaries on different sides. The Basuto Moshesh was guided by the advice of French Protestant missionaries. Among the minor rival clans Wesleyan influence predominated. Reserves were marked out, and frontier lines demarcated, the Basuto country, to the disgust of its chief and people, was contracted in its extent; but no moral authority sufficed to keep the peace between savage marauders. At length the British Resident collected an inadequate force consisting of a few British regulars, a few farmers, and a larger number of natives, in the hope of restoring law and order; and, coming into conflict with the Basutos at a hill named Viervoet on June 30, 1851, his troops were defeated and beaten back. The check came at a bad time, for Sir Harry Smith was in straits in the Kaffir war, and, though reinforcements came up from Natal, no active step could be taken to retrieve the disaster.

*The fight
at Vier-
voet.*

*Lord
Grey's
policy.*

During these troubled years Lord Grey was Secretary of State for the Colonies. He had assented to the establishment of the Orange River Sovereignty on condition that 'the management of their own concerns, with the duty of providing for their own defence and for the payment of the expense of that system of government which is established among them, should be thrown entirely on the emigrant Boers and on the native tribes among whom they are settled¹.' Three years had now passed, and there seemed

¹ Correspondence relative to the state of the Kaffir tribes, July, 1848, p. 68.

no prospect of the condition being fulfilled. The despatches from England began to hint at a change of policy and a change of officers; and the first step taken was to appoint, in May 1851, two Assistant Commissioners for the special purpose of dealing with matters beyond the actual frontier of the Cape Colony¹. The news of the Viervoet fight came home, and plainer than before were the Secretary of State's words. Writing in September 1851, he blamed the British Resident at Bloemfontein for interfering too much in the government of the territory. To permanently govern it by military power he considered to be out of the question. 'If the majority of the inhabitants will not support the authority of the Resident, he must be withdrawn.' 'The relinquishment of the territory would be a necessity to be greatly lamented,' but it must rest with the Boers and with the native chiefs to decide whether or not such a step should be taken². The words were those of a strong advocate of colonial self-government and colonial self-defence, of a policy which was being carried out in other parts of the British Empire. It was and is a great policy, but the spirit which first inspired it was not so much the love of freedom and the desire to confer independence, as a passionate longing to set a bound to the responsibilities of the mother country and to save her expense. The number and variety of colonies and dependencies, which Great Britain has possessed in all parts of the world, has provided her statesmen at home with an unrivalled storehouse of experience, but on the other hand it has given them precedents for any and every course of action, and has encouraged them from time to time to guide themselves by incorrect and misleading analogies.

¹ By the terms of the Government notice, published at the Cape on July 30, 1851, these officers were 'to be Assistant Commissioners to His Excellency, Sir H. G. W. Smith, in his capacity of High Commissioner for settling and adjusting the affairs on the frontier of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope.'

² Correspondence relative to the state of the Kaffir tribes, February, 1852, p. 243.

PART I. Where the inhabitants of a territory are nearly all of one white race, especially if it is the Anglo-Saxon race, the problem of self-government is easily solved. Where, as was the case beyond the Orange River, white men and black are intermixed, and the white men are not all of one blood or of one way of thinking, there is a danger that self-governing institutions may be perverted into tyranny or degenerate into anarchy. If given in such cases, self-government, one would think, should be gradually given, for more often than not men who have fought to be free need to be trained to rule.

When Sir Harry Smith first reported to Lord Grey the proclamation of British sovereignty over the Orange River Territory, he wrote, 'My position has been analogous to that of every Governor-general, who proceeded to India. All have been fully impressed with the weakness of that policy which extended the Company's possessions, and yet few, if any, especially the men of more gifted talents, have ever resigned their government without having done that, which, however greatly to be condemned by the theory of policy, circumstances demanded and imperatively imposed upon them. Such has been my case¹.' Before he left, he wrote, in view of a possible reversal of his policy, 'The relinquishment of power, territory, and authority once acquired is a measure fraught with difficulties and numerous evils; while a contrary course, however embarrassing for the moment, must prove of future benefit².' This was one view. Another will be found in Lord Grey's despatches. 'The ultimate abandonment of the Orange River Sovereignty should be a settled point in our policy³.' Shortly after

¹ Correspondence relative to the state of the Kaffir tribes, July, 1848, p. 61.

² Further correspondence relative to the state of the Orange River Territory, May, 1853, p. 17.

³ Correspondence relative to the state of the Kaffir tribes, &c., Feb. 1852, p. 245.

these words were written, Sir Harry was, early in 1852, recalled. He was not the first Governor to be recalled from South Africa, and was not the last. The wars and annexations of the impetuous old soldier, it must be admitted, gave reasonable grounds for supersession. The disasters in the Kaffir war had been serious and many. Yet events of bygone years were in the main responsible for the failure and the suffering. The Kaffirs might by this time have learnt obedience to unswerving rulers, the Dutch farmers might have been loyal subjects to the Queen, there might have been no new native uprisings, no treks, no rebellions, if Sir Benjamin D'Urban's work had not been undone.

CH. VI.

Recall of
Sir Harry
Smith.

The difficulties of the British Government were the opportunities of the Transvaal Boers. No attempt had been made seriously to interfere with them, or to exercise authority over their land, yet they were still nominally British subjects, still, so far as they lived to the southward of the twenty-fifth degree of south latitude, amenable to the criminal law of the Cape Colony. The only source of practical difficulty, which seemed likely to arise, was on the western frontier. Here the London missionaries were at work among the Bechuana tribes, and of their number, far away in the interior at the mission station of Kolobeng, was David Livingstone. There was no love lost between him and the Boers. An outspoken and fearless champion of native rights and native interests, he resented the Dutchmen's rough dealings with the coloured races, and as an explorer also he crossed their path. In 1849, with Oswell and Murray, he set out from Kolobeng for the north, and discovered Lake Ngami; and in the following year the Governor reported that the Boers were intercepting parties of travellers who were following in his footsteps. It was the beginning of a trouble which became more acute in after years, the first attempt by the Boers to block the trade route to

The
Transvaal
Boers.

David
Living-
stone in
Bechuana-
land.

Discovery
of Lake
Ngami.

The Boers
try to block
the trade
route to

PART I.
 ———
*Central
 Africa.*

Africa. At this time no Boer republic had yet been recognised. 'The Boers' wrote the Secretary of State 'have not the slightest claim to the territory which they occupy beyond the Vaal River¹;' and their interference with British subjects as well as with the native tribes could not be overlooked. Yet it was difficult to know what steps to take. To march a large force to the north was impossible. To extend British sovereignty over an almost unlimited area could not be entertained; and only partial remedies suggested themselves, such as friendly negotiation with the native chiefs with the view of inducing them to combine for purposes of self-defence, and the possible widening of the powers conferred by the statute of 1836², so as to make the limit of criminal jurisdiction over British subjects not the twenty-fifth degree of south latitude but the Equator.

*The inde-
 pendence
 of the
 Transvaal
 Boers
 recognised
 by the
 Sand
 River Con-
 vention.*

It seems strange that in little more than a year³ after these measures were contemplated, the independence of the Transvaal Boers was formally recognised. Yet so it was. Pretorius, since the fight at Boomplatz, had remained beyond the Vaal, a proscribed refugee. The uprising of the Kaffirs, the successes of the Basutos, the dangers which on all sides threatened the British cause, enabled him to come out in a new character. In September and October 1851, he wrote offering to treat with the British Government on behalf of the emigrant Boers, claiming moreover to have been called upon by the Basuto chief and by many of the white inhabitants of the Orange River Territory to act as mediator and peacemaker. The Assistant Commissioners made a virtue of necessity, and prevented interference in matters south of

¹ Correspondence relative to the assumption of sovereignty over the territory between the Vaal and Orange Rivers, May, 1851, p. 97.

² See above, p. 200, note.

³ Lord Grey's despatch on the subject, an extract from which is quoted above, was dated Nov. 29, 1850. The Sand River Convention was signed Jan. 17, 1852.

the Vaal by consenting to negotiate with regard to the Transvaal and its inhabitants. To recognise the virtual independence of the Transvaal Boers was only to acknowledge existing facts. Consequently, the sentence of outlawry on Pretorius was reversed; on January 16, 1852, at the Sand River within the borders of the Orange River Territory, the Transvaal delegates, with Pretorius at their head, met the representatives of the British Government; and on the following day the famous Sand River Convention was signed, by which the 'emigrant farmers beyond the Vaal River' were conceded 'the right to manage their own affairs, and to govern themselves, without any interference on the part of Her Majesty the Queen's Government.' In April, 1852, the Convention was confirmed by Sir Harry Smith's successor, General Cathcart, and in the following June it received the approval of Sir John Pakington, Secretary of State for the Colonies.

CH. VI.

One clause in the Convention laid down that 'no slavery is or shall be permitted or practised in the country to the north of the Vaal River by the emigrant farmers.' Otherwise the British Government disclaimed all alliance with the coloured races in the Transvaal territory, and provision was made to prevent traders and travellers from the south supplying the natives with arms and ammunition. Yet, as soon as the Convention was signed, charges and counter-charges arose. The western frontier of the republic was not defined, and along the Bechuanaland trade route, marked by a line of mission stations, English traders came and went. The Boers accused them of importing arms, and in turn took strong measures against the border clans. It was the old story over again with the old result; comandos were called out; the natives were shot down or put to flight; captives were carried off; Livingstone's house at Kolobeng was, in the absence of the owner, broken open and looted. The Boers had won their independence, but,

The Boers charged with evading the provisions of the Convention against slavery.

PART I. as tales, perhaps highly coloured, came home of their later exploits, philanthropic Englishmen grudged them their freedom, for liberty in their case seemed to be licence to oppress and to enslave in South Africa the people of the soil.

Events in the Orange River Territory. It was hoped that the Sand River Convention would restore good feeling between the Boers and the British Government, and that south of the Vaal the Dutch would become reconciled to living under British rule. Yet Lord Grey's words as to the ultimate abandonment of the Orange River Sovereignty remained on record, and General Cathcart in his despatches expressed similar views. A public meeting of delegates from the inhabitants of the Sovereignty, called by the Assistant Commissioner at Bloemfontein in June, 1852, passed resolutions in favour of popular government, but by no means repudiated allegiance to the Queen; and, had the wishes then expressed been carried out, the Orange River Territory would have been constituted a self-governing British Colony. The president of the meeting, however, was a Scotchman, and it may be questioned how far the disaffected Dutch farmers gave free utterance to their heart's desire. But the first and most pressing practical difficulty was the outstanding dispute with the Basutos. A year had passed since the fight at Viervoet, and Moshesh had shown no signs of submission. As soon, therefore, as General Cathcart had dealt with the Kosa Kaffirs, he determined to bring the Basuto chief to terms. At the beginning of December, 1852, he concentrated a force of 2,000 regular troops in the Caledon River district, and summoned Moshesh to meet him. The meeting took place at Platberg, a ruined Hottentot village near the western bank of the Caledon, and in plain words the Governor demanded prompt compensation for the robberies committed by the Basutos. The alternative he said was war. 'Do not talk of war,' replied Moshesh, 'for, however anxious I may be to avoid

The Basuto war of 1852.

it, you know that a dog when beaten will show his teeth¹. Three days were allowed for the terms to be complied with, only partial restitution was made at the end of that time, and war was the result. Over against Platberg, beyond the river, lay Thaba Bosigo, the Basuto chieftain's stronghold. Between the two points, lining the eastern bank of the Caledon, was the Berea mountain with rocky sides. Here on December 20, 1852, the fight took place. The troops, commanded by the General in person, crossed the river and advanced in three columns, two of which were to march round the mountain on either side, while the third was sent to clear the top. All three were to meet on the plain beyond the mountain, and march in force on the Basuto town. The plan miscarried. Two of the columns, fighting on broken ground, against active and well-armed foes, cumbered, moreover, with the cattle which they carried off, suffered severely. One fell back to the camp on the Caledon, while the other late in the day joined the third and main column at the appointed meeting place, only in time to enable them to hold their ground with difficulty against outnumbering troops of Basuto horsemen, whom the English General in his account of the engagement likened to irregular Cossacks or Circassians². There was fighting at one point or another from morning to night, in the end the English were nominally victors, but the honours were as much with the vanquished. The Basuto chief had been as good as his word. The dog, may be, had been beaten, but he had shown his teeth. Moshesh was something of a statesman as well as a general. On the night of the battle he sent in his submission to the English commander and sued for peace. His submission was accepted, though many of the English officers pleaded

CH. VI.

*The fight
at the
Berea
mountain.*

¹ Further correspondence relative to the state of the Orange River Territory, May, 1853, p. 97.

² *Ibid.*, p. 95.

PART I. for further fighting and a more decisive victory, and Cathcart
 ————— led his troops back into the colony.

*Mission of
 Sir George
 Clerk.*

The battle of Berea decided the fate of the Orange River Territory. It was evident that the land must be indefinitely occupied by a strong body of troops or must be given up entirely. The ministry chose the second alternative, and, at General Cathcart's own request, sent out a Special Commissioner to carry their decision into effect. The Commissioner was Sir George Clerk, an East Indian officer of high standing, who for a time had been Governor of Bombay¹. In August, 1853, he reached Bloemfontein. The withdrawal of English sovereignty was no easy matter. It was unpopular in the Cape Colony, as evidenced by numerous petitions against the step. It was strongly opposed by many in the territory itself, and the opponents were not Englishmen alone. The missionaries of South Africa and their supporters viewed it with dismay. In the case of the Transvaal the concession of independence had been little more than a formal confirmation of what was already in existence. The country beyond the Vaal had never belonged to the Queen, its inhabitants were all, or nearly all, Dutchmen who had already organised some kind of government. But the Orange River Territory had been definitely included in the British dominions, Englishmen had settled there and taken up land, vested interests had been created, treaties and engagements of various kinds were still supposed to be binding. To withdraw was a confession of weakness, a sign of weariness, of shrinking from responsibility and rule. Yet neither the Government nor their representative on the spot wavered in their decision, protests were unheeded, difficulties smoothed or set aside. By Royal Order in Council Her Majesty abandoned and

*The Con-
 vention of
 Bloemfontein and
 withdrawal of*

¹ It is interesting to note that Sir George Clerk was an intimate friend of Sir Bartle Frere. See the life of Sir Bartle Frere, vol. i. p. 307, note.

renounced all dominion and sovereignty of the Crown over the Orange River Territory and its inhabitants; and on February 23, 1854—in the year of the Crimean war—Sir George Clerk signed a convention at Bloemfontein, by which the British Government guaranteed the future independence of the country and its government¹. The Convention included a provision against slavery, and safeguarded the long-standing British alliance with the Griqua captain, Adam Kok, but laid down that otherwise ‘the British Government has no alliance whatever with any native chiefs or tribes to the northward of the Orange River.’

*British
sovereignty
from the
Orange
River
territory.*

This Convention, coupled with the Sand River Treaty, seemed at the time to set definite bounds to British rule and British influence in South Africa. The coast-line was to be English, the land on the south as far as the Orange River, the land on the east between the mountains and the sea. The great dreary plateau of the interior, with its mineral wealth yet all unknown, was left to the Dutchmen; and, if missionaries or traders went that way, no longer, it seemed, could they hope for British protection or win respect under cover of the British name. Such was the outlook forty years ago. At the present day, behind and around the Boer republics stretches the line of British colonisation.

The emigrant farmers secured their independence. In

¹ A comparison of the Sand River and Bloemfontein Conventions will show that the later treaty granted independence in more explicit terms than the earlier. The Sand River Convention guaranteed ‘in the fullest manner, on the part of the British Government, to the emigrant farmers beyond the Vaal River the right to manage their own affairs, and to govern themselves, without any interference on the part of Her Majesty the Queen’s Government.’ The Bloemfontein Convention guaranteed ‘on the part of Her Majesty’s Government the future independence’ of the Orange River Territory and its government, and promised that the independence should be confirmed by an instrument ‘finally freeing’ the inhabitants of the territory ‘from their allegiance to the British Crown, and declaring them, to all intents and purposes a free and independent people, and their government to be treated and considered thenceforth a free and independent government.’

PART I. substance they had freedom already, but not in name.
 —♦— They wanted a land to call their own; they wanted to be recognised as no longer subject to the British Crown; nominal as well as real independence was their aim; they achieved it, and none could doubt they had earned it. They had earned it by leaving for ever their old homes in the Cape Colony, by all their sufferings and all their ventures; but most of all they had earned it as having been, when all was told, rough pioneers of civilisation, as having faced and broken the two savage hordes which had been the pest and scourge of South Africa, as having dealt destruction to Dingaan's Zulus and chased the Matabele out of the land.

CHAPTER VII.

THE GROWTH OF THE CAPE COLONY AND NATAL.

SOUTH African history consists largely of wars and treaties with Boers and natives. Still there was time and space for peaceful progress, for the social and political development of the Cape Colony and, after Natal became a British possession, of Natal also. Kaffir wars kept the eastern frontier of the Cape in alarm and unrest, confusion reigned beyond the Orange River, discontented farmers moved off into the interior. Yet the vacant places within the colony were filled by natural increase or by emigration from Europe, population grew, resources grew, means of communication were multiplied and improved, and the Cape colonists as a whole became year by year more of a community, more of a nation.

CH. VII.



War brought with it a certain amount of trade. There was coming and going at the seaports. There were soldiers to be fed. There was expenditure on the spot of Imperial funds. There was traffic for the South African merchants and contractors, legitimate traffic and possibly illicit also. The British tax payer and the frontier settler felt the strain of war, but the resident at Capetown or Port Elizabeth, and the farmer whose home was at a secure distance from unruly Kaffirs, bore little of the burden and shared in the profit.

The twenty years from 1834 to 1854 were years of constant fighting. Then came a lull, and for more than twenty years there was an interval of comparative peace, precluding a new upheaval, new conflicts and conventions with black

PART I. and white men, more confusion, more reversal, and in the
 —→— end a great extension of colonisation and empire. This intermediate time, less eventful than the years which had gone before or which followed, contained the fruits of what had passed and the seeds of what was to come. Self-government was perfected in the Cape Colony, and men talked of South African confederation. Railways came into being. The mineral wealth of South Africa began to be disclosed, and one of the more immediate results of the discovery was a second—this time a permanent—advance of British dominion beyond the Orange River. There was widening of territory and widening of views, and meanwhile the cutting of the Suez Canal finally severed the old connexion which in past times had caused the Cape of Good Hope to be overshadowed by the East Indies.

Constitutional changes in the Cape Colony.

The form of government which was given to the Cape Colony in 1833 contained no elective element. There were unofficial members in the Legislative Council, but they were nominated by the Governor, not chosen by the people. Such a system could not be permanent. It was inevitable that a colony, in which there was a large and growing number of Englishmen, should demand, and in due course be granted, the privilege of popular representation. Self-government began, as it often does begin, and as in fact under the Dutch East India Company it had already to a small extent begun, in the sphere of local administration. In 1836 an ordinance was passed providing for the establishment of elected Municipal Councils in the colony, Beaufort West being the first town or village to which the Act was applied. Capetown was specially excepted from the terms of the ordinance, but became a municipality in 1840; and in 1841 we find the Board of Commissioners petitioning the Queen for a representative Legislative Assembly for the colony, on the ground 'that no man who has paid attention to the working of the municipalities graciously granted by your Majesty but must

The municipal councils ordinance of 1836.

allow that the colony is fully prepared for the boon of self-government¹. Two years afterwards, in 1843, further recognition was given to the principle of popular election in connexion with Road Boards for the colony. An ordinance was passed creating a Central Board of Road Commissioners who were appointed by the Governor, and Divisional Boards, in which the majority of the members were elected every three years by the landed proprietors. These boards were given power to levy rates, and under the new system road making was carried on with great vigour and with marked success.

CH. VII

—♦—
*The Road
 Boards
 ordinance
 of 1843.*

The petition from the Capetown municipality for Representative Government for the colony was forwarded by Sir George Napier to the Secretary of State at the end of 1841. He enclosed, at the same time, a petition to a similar effect, which was the result of a public meeting of the inhabitants of Capetown. Free representation, the petitioners urged in sober and temperate terms, would tend to the development of the colony, and would encourage immigration from the mother country, by placing incoming settlers under such political institutions as they had known and trusted in their old homes. Stress was laid on the practical and material advantages which might be expected to result from self-government, and sentimental grievances were kept in the background. Sir George Napier cordially supported the petitions. He lamented the ignorance, the misunderstanding, the helplessness on the part of the colonists, which were due to the want of popular representation, and he pointed, as the petitioners had pointed, to the good fruit which had already been borne by municipal institutions.

*Petitions
 for colonial
 self-govern-
 ment.*

The Dutch system, as has been abundantly shown, had been a repressive system. Its object was to discourage freedom and sense of responsibility among the colonists,

¹ Return to an Address of the House of Commons on the subject of Representative Government, June, 1846, p. 4.

PART I. except in purely local matters. Its result was twofold. As far as the arm of the government reached, there was perpetual tutelage. Beyond its reach there was anarchy. Capetown, where the movement in favour of popular representation originated, had always been the seat of administration and consequently directly under the eye of the government. At the same time it was the chief town of the colony—before the rise of Grahamstown and Port Elizabeth, the only town worthy of the name; and, more than any other place in South Africa, it was in constant contact with the outer world. Here the full effects of despotism had been felt, and yet here, if anywhere, was an urban community, likely to imbibe democratic views and importing those views perpetually from beyond the seas. The citizens of Capetown therefore, as was natural, took the lead in petitioning for an elected legislature. But Capetown was not the Cape Colony, and ‘the interests or the supposed interests of the metropolitan population,’ wrote Lord Stanley in answer to the Governor, ‘may be often at variance with those of the remote country districts’¹. In his closely reasoned but not unsympathetic despatch, Lord Stanley pointed out two main practical objections to granting parliamentary representation, the first being the difficulty and expense of communication between Capetown and the country districts and in those districts themselves, the second being the multiplicity of races who inhabited the colony, and whose interests all deserved attention. The despatch gave an opening for further consideration of the question, but no reply came, and for more than four years the matter rested, until in November, 1846, Lord Grey, who was then Colonial Secretary, took it up.

Lord Stanley's despatch of April, 1842.

Lord Grey and colonial self-government.

By Lord Grey and his colleagues colonial self-government was regarded as a panacea for the evils of empire. They had ever in their minds the blundering interference which

¹ Parl. Paper of June, 1846 (as above), p. 6. The despatch was dated April 15, 1842.

had resulted in the loss of the United States, and not many years had passed since Lord Durham had written his celebrated report on Canada, and the Government of Canada had been remodelled on liberal and democratic lines. On February 8, 1850, the Prime Minister, Lord John Russell, in the House of Commons, laid down what he held to be the true principles of colonial policy, basing them on justice to, confidence in, and sympathy with the colonists, and repudiating the idea that England had no need of her colonies, and was not bound to give them protection and defence. Yet the feeling grew up, and gained ground, that English politicians set little store by the colonies; that they were anxious to grant self-government as a burden as much as a boon; that they were studying the interests of the mother country rather more than those of her dependencies; that they wished to set England free from the cares and responsibilities of a large family. England is old, empire is a delusion, colonies are an expense, such was the popular interpretation of the colonial policy which the Whigs and Liberals took in hand. It was a strained interpretation, but not wholly without foundation. The Whig statesmen were logical, they were good political economists, they saw clearly for a very little distance ahead, but they were inclined to ignore and eschew sentiment as though it had no existence. The policy which they advocated was wholesome and sound, but they were not at pains to make it gracious. The result was that the colonies took their gift of freedom, but did not thank the givers. They took it as children of England who felt that they were no longer wanted. On the basis of truth and justice, wrote Lord Grey to Sir Harry Smith at the Cape, 'rests the policy of entrusting the remote dependencies of a metropolitan state with the largest powers of self-government in whatever relates to their internal and local affairs'¹

CH. VII.

*The colonial policy
of the
Whigs.*

¹ Correspondence relative to the establishment of a Representative Assembly at the Cape of Good Hope, February, 1850, p. 93.

PART I. He gave another side of the same policy in the book in which he reviewed his colonial administration. There he lamented the responsibilities which the British Government had incurred in South Africa, regretted that British emigrants had been sent to the Cape, and wrote, 'few persons would probably dissent from the opinion that it would be far better for this country if the British territory in South Africa were confined to Capetown and to Simons Bay¹.'

A Whig by conviction, a firm believer in the value of free institutions, Lord Grey was none the less an autocrat in his instincts. There was no graceful yielding in his composition, no lightness of touch in his words and dealings. The blessings which he ordered could not be said to flow, and freedom came but sullenly when summoned by an imperious official. In 1846 he began to press self-government on the Cape, but left office before a Parliament was actually established. Local squabbles and the Kaffir war delayed the work in hand, and it was not till 1853 that the Cape Colony finally obtained representative institutions, the first parliament meeting in 1854.

Difficulties in the way of granting self-government to the Cape. To trace out the petty and tortuous details of the constitutional movement at the Cape would be to weary and confuse, but one or two of its leading features may be shortly noticed. Lord Stanley had pointed out two great difficulties, distance from the seat of government and variety of races.

1. *Distances and want of communication.* The former difficulty was likely to decrease as years went on, as roads were made inland, and as communication by sea between Capetown and the ports of the Eastern districts

¹ The Colonial policy of Lord John Russell's administration, by Earl Grey, 2nd ed. (1853), vol. ii. p. 248. Similarly, in his instructions to Sir G. Cathcart upon his appointment as Governor of the Cape, dated February 2, 1852, Lord Grey wrote: 'You are aware that beyond the very limited extent of territory required for the security of the Cape of Good Hope as a naval station, the British Crown and nation have no interest whatever in maintaining any territorial dominion in South Africa.' Correspondence relative to the state of the Kaffir tribes, &c., February, 1852, p. 259.

became quicker and more constant. Moreover the Dutch settlers had been wont from earliest times to travel many miles periodically to religious gatherings, and every five years at Capetown the Synod of the Reformed Church attracted ministers and elders from the remotest part of the colony¹. Yet railways, the great bond of communication, were not known in South Africa, and no rivers made easy the going and coming of men. In no country, in short, fifty years ago, was distance a more real obstacle to union under one representative government than it was in the Cape Colony. The variety of races, and the difference between races, hardly tended to diminish. The feeling between English and Dutch was perhaps more strained than it had been earlier in the century. The number of black men who could fairly claim the rights of citizenship was growing. They too differed from one another. Malays, Negroes, Kaffirs, Hottentots, all were elements to be considered. How far could they be trusted as citizens? How far, if not citizens, could they be left to the control of the white voter?

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2. *Variety of races.*

Thus the problem of self-government for the Cape Colony was not easy to solve. In Canada, as at the Cape, the Europeans were divided by the line of race, but there the farther difficulty of a large native population did not arise. In Australia the population was practically homogeneous, and the difficulty caused by distance was met by multiplying the number of colonies. In New Zealand, as at the Cape, the natives were an important factor, but there again the white settlers were in the main of one blood. In no colonial possession of Great Britain, which could rightly be styled a colony, were the conditions quite so complex as they were in South Africa. In Canada the province of Quebec was French, the province of Ontario was English, but the result

The Cape compared with Canada and the Australian colonies as regards the problem of self-government.

¹ See what is said on this point in 'Correspondence relative to the establishment of a Representative Assembly at the Cape of Good Hope,' February, 1850, p. 15, Mr. Montagu's Memorandum.

PART I. of Lord Durham's mission had been to unite them under one legislature and one administration. In the Cape Colony the Western districts were mainly Dutch, the Eastern districts were mainly English, but, fortunately for the interests of the colony as a whole, neither division belonged exclusively to one race. Nor had there ever been distinct legislatures for the two divisions, as there had been in the two Canadian provinces. There was for a time a Lieutenant-Governor for the Eastern districts, but none the less those districts always remained an integral part of the Cape Colony. No true analogy from Canada could be drawn for the Cape, but, if Canada taught any lesson, it was that of the advantage of union. From Australia came other and conflicting experience. There the settlers at Port Phillip, now Melbourne, felt it a grievance to be subordinated to a legislature which met at Sydney, and the result of their representations was the complete severance of the province of Victoria from the present colony of New South Wales. The example of New Zealand, where there was no one centre of European colonisation, where various distinct settlements had come into being, and where a native race was strongly in evidence, seemed to point to a system of separate Provincial Councils to be federated or united in due time under a Central Legislature.

*Local
jealousies
in the Cape
Colony.*

In the Cape Colony itself there was wide difference of opinion. There was jealousy between the East and the West, and the Eastern province, or a large proportion of its residents, demanded a separate and independent government. The constitution of the second chamber, the position of the Executive in relation to the legislature, the scale of the franchise all were burning questions. The champions of the natives dreaded on their behalf the advent of a popular legislature, in which the voice of the black man might not be heard or, if heard, be unheeded. The men of property were inclined to limit the franchise. It was to the credit of the Imperial Government that, amid confusion of tongues and

a flood of contradictory petitions, it held to its course and gave to the colony a wise and liberal measure of parliamentary representation.

CH. VII.

Grant of
representa-
tive govern-
ment, 1853.

One legislature was constituted for the whole colony, discretion being left to the Governor to fix the place and time at which the Parliament should assemble. It consisted of three estates, the Governor, a Legislative Council, and a House of Assembly; but the second chamber—the Legislative Council—was made an elective body, instead of being, as in some other colonies, composed of members nominated by the Crown. The basis of the franchise was occupancy of a building valued at £25, that qualification entitling its holders to vote for members of both chambers. An attempt, which was made in the colony, to substitute a more restricted franchise was rejected by the Imperial Government in the interests of the coloured population, and in rejecting it the Duke of Newcastle wrote, 'It is the earnest desire of Her Majesty's Government that all her subjects at the Cape, without distinction of class or colour, should be united by one bond of loyalty and a common interest¹.'

Very liberal was the constitution in the matter of representation, yet the coping stone of free institutions, the subordination of the executive officers to the popular legislature, was wanting. The payment of the high officers of the government was provided in a separate Civil list ordinance, and the highest among them were allowed to sit and speak in either house, but were not allowed to vote. A parliament was conceded, but not parliamentary government; the final boon was withheld, until the newly organised colonial community had grown a little older and a little stronger².

¹ Further papers relative to the establishment of a Representative Assembly at the Cape of Good Hope, May, 1853, p. 25.

² The following passage in the Report of the Lords of the Committee of Council on the question of giving representative institutions to the

PART I. Representative Government which is not Responsible Government is a somewhat illogical compromise. It had failed in Canada, failed so completely that it seems strange that the system should have been revived elsewhere. It is only as a temporary expedient that it admits of justification. It should be regarded from the point of view that popular institutions are a form of education, in which there are more elementary and more advanced stages. The grant of such institutions to the Cape colonists was an experiment. What the final outcome would be was in the highest degree doubtful. None could tell whether the East and West would sever from each other, whether the future of South Africa would be one of federalism, what would be in after time the boundaries of the Cape Colony, what would be the relations between the white and coloured races. In the meantime it seemed well that the Executive should be kept clear of local prejudices and party strife, and that the policy of the government of the colony should not be wholly identified with the views of a small majority in a new and untried legislature.

Grant of Responsible government, 1872.

The experiment ran its course with the inevitable amount of friction, but, up to the last, opinion was divided in the colony as to whether or not Responsible Government would be a benefit. The responsibility promised to be greater at the Cape than in other and more homogeneous colonies, the future liabilities were more indefinite, the end was less clearly in view. For constitutional changes in South Africa, it was recognised, would not be perfected with the completion of parliamentary government in the Cape Colony as it was Cape Colony, refers to this point: 'This system of administration (responsible or party government) we regard as altogether unsuited to the present circumstances of the Cape Colony, because we believe it to be one which can never work with advantage, except in countries which have made such progress in wealth and population that there are to be found in them a considerable number of persons who can devote a large proportion of their time to public affairs.' Correspondence relative to the establishment of a Representative Assembly at the Cape of Good Hope, February, 1850, p. 106.

bounded at a given time. A larger question would still be outstanding, the political organisation of the whole of South Africa. On financial questions, as might be expected, disagreement arose between the Executive and the legislature. It was the duty of the ministers of the government to adjust revenue and expenditure, but they were powerless to do so in the face of a legislature which could refuse to pass the necessary laws or to vote the necessary taxation. Meanwhile the annexation of British Kaffraria to the Cape Colony was insisted upon by the Imperial Government, involving an assertion of authority from home, which was distasteful to a people now enjoying at least the outward semblance of self-government, and imposing upon the colonists the future burden of frontier defence. New responsibilities demanded new powers. If the people of the Cape Colony were called to greatness, or rather had greatness thrust upon them, it seemed obvious that their leaders should be their nominees, holding office by the will of the majority. Some there were who held back, fearing the issues of the coming time, and clinging to Imperial control. Many there were with whom provincial jealousy was stronger than colonial patriotism; but at length, in 1872, a short Act was passed through the colonial legislature by a narrow majority, embodying the principle of Responsible Government, and undivided the Cape colonists took up in the fullest sense the duties and the privileges of a self-governing people.

Closely connected with the constitutional movement in the Southern colonies of Great Britain was the resistance which they successfully made to the introduction of convicts from the mother country. The Transportation system was not, like slavery, wholly indefensible. It was not contrary to the fundamental principles of morality. It was bad only under given circumstances of time and place. Where labour was much in request, there was something to be said for supplying forced labour from England. In the interests of

CH. VII.



The Anti-convict agitation in the Cape Colony. The Transportation system.

PART I. the convicts there was and is much to be said on behalf of
 — a system, whereby those who have committed crime but are not irreclaimable are given an opportunity of working out a new life in a new country, removed from the scene of their misconduct and disgrace. But where there is a settled population with children growing up who can be contaminated, where there are native races not easy to rule, slow to be civilised, prompt to follow examples of lawlessness, there the importation of men who have broken the law is a danger to society.

Transportation involved exercise of authority by the mother country.

The political side of the question, however, as far as colonial history is concerned, is more interesting than its social or moral aspect. In transporting criminals to Australia, in proposing to transport them to the Cape, the Imperial Government was making a convenience of the colonies. England was giving her worst to her dependencies, treating them as receptacles for her refuse, taking out the weeds from her own garden and planting them in a new and virgin soil. This assumption of authority and ownership, the implication that what the mother country rejected was good enough for the colonies, roused the wrath of Englishmen beyond the seas and gave a strong impetus to the desire for colonial independence. The colonists lost sight of the arguments which might be urged on the other side, they forgot that convict labour had been useful, and that criminals had been converted into honest citizens, they overlooked Imperial claims¹, they saw only the actual and possible defects of the system, and most of all they resented the

¹ In his despatch to the Governor of the Cape of Nov. 30, 1849, Lord Grey put the Imperial point of view as follows: 'I still believe that in refusing to receive in very moderate numbers convicts whose conduct under a preliminary system of punishment has been such as to entitle them to the indulgence of tickets of leave, and whose best chance of being reformed consists in their being dispersed as widely as possible, the inhabitants of the Cape were declining the share of the common burthens of the empire which they might fairly be called upon to undertake.' (Despatches relative to the reception of convicts at the Cape of Good Hope, January, 1850, p. 149.)

system itself as an impertinent interference. Though it gained CH. VII.
 strong support at home, the anti-transportation movement
 was in its essence a colonial movement, an assertion of the
 rights of the colonists against the supposed pretensions of
 the mother country. As such, it was a distinct land-mark
 in the story of the rise of the self-governing colonies ; more
 especially it marked the coming manhood of the Southern
 colonies. The lands and the peoples of the South were
 beginning to make history, and the Cape, no longer an
 outpost of the East, was in some sense joining hands with
 Australia.

The Cape colonists knew well the value of convict labour. *Convict labour at the Cape.*
 Nowhere had it been turned to better account. Under the
 provisions of the Road Boards Act of 1843¹, and under the
 skilful guidance of Mr. Montagu, Secretary to the Govern-
 ment, gangs of convicts were set to work at the points where
 communication had been most difficult, crooked places were
 made straight and rough places plain. Between the Cape
 peninsula and the mainland was an isthmus of shifting sand,
 and, when the mainland was reached, there were mountain
 barriers in all directions. By the end of 1845 a hard road
 over the Cape Flats was open for public traffic. By the end
 of 1847 the completion of the Montagu Pass through the
 Cradock Mountain overcame 'the great and almost insur-
 mountable barrier to any communication inland between the
 Eastern and Western districts of the colony²,' and removed
 'the natural boundary which had hitherto divided the two
 provinces.' A year later a new line of road was opened
 through the Michell pass in the Worcester division, and the
 Worcester farmers began to drive their waggons to Capetown
 instead of trekking beyond the border. The greatest public
 want in the Cape Colony was easy access to markets, and

¹ See above, p. 227.

² Parl. Paper relative to Convict discipline at the Cape, March, 1850,
 pp. 27, 29, 63.

PART I. this want was to a great extent supplied definitely and distinctly by forced labour. But the labour was already on the spot. The criminals, whose industry enured at once to their own benefit and to that of the public, were home grown not imported; most of them were coloured men; and the success which attended their employment on the roads did not cause the colonists to fall in love with the Transportation system. It is true that labour was constantly in demand, and, even after the Cape colonists had refused to allow criminals from the United Kingdom to be landed on their shores, there were some persons who advocated their introduction into British Kaffraria¹. But the general public opinion on this point was strong and unmistakeable. The Cape should not be made a penal settlement of the empire.

*Proposals
to transport
criminals
to the Cape.*

One of the earliest petitions against transportation to the Cape stated that 'the colony of the Cape of Good Hope has never at any time, from its first settlement, received from Europe or elsewhere any portion of its population out of prisons or penal establishments²'; and the colonists spoke proudly of their home as a 'free and unpolluted country,' a 'hitherto pure, happy land.' In the days of the Dutch East India Company political offenders from the Malay Indies had been sent to the Cape, but neither the Company nor the Netherlands Government had colonised South Africa with criminals, as Australia was colonised. After the English came into possession, suggestions were made from time to time by the Imperial Government that offenders of one kind or another should be transported to the Cape. In 1841 Lord John Russell proposed that European convicts from India, who had in former times been sent to Australia, should in future be taken to Robben Island, a natural prison within easy reach of Capetown; but in the interests of the people

¹ Further papers relative to the state of the Kaffir tribes, July, 1855, p. 63.

² Parl. Paper of April, 1849, on Transportation to the Cape of Good Hope, p. 13.

whom he governed Sir George Napier discouraged the scheme. This proposal was almost immediately followed by another to the effect that Robben Island should be utilised for the reception of juvenile criminals from the United Kingdom, who should after a term of probation be apprenticed to employers in the colony. Again the same Governor deprecated the course which the Secretary of State favoured, the colonists memorialised against it, and the home Government stayed its hand. Four years later, Mr. Gladstone, then Secretary of State, suggested that convicts from England might be usefully employed in building a breakwater and erecting lighthouses at Table Bay, and also on public works at Natal. At first the colonial authorities were disposed to entertain the offer, but, before it could be carried into effect, it was swept away by the storm of popular indignation which a larger scheme of transportation aroused.

In August, 1848, Lord Grey addressed a circular despatch to various colonies, including the Cape, inviting them to receive prisoners who, after separate confinement in England and employment on public works either in the United Kingdom or in Gibraltar or Bermuda, had earned by good conduct and industry conditional freedom under ticket of leave. No longer were they to be known as convicts or criminals, but as 'exiles' whose liberty was temporarily restricted. They were offered as a boon, to be accepted or declined as the colonists thought fit. By the same post it was intimated to Sir Harry Smith, then Governor of the Cape, that in any case some Irish political and agrarian offenders would be sent out to the colony. In September an Order in Council was passed, including the Cape in the list of authorised penal settlements, and in December Lord Grey announced that a ship had been chartered to carry out the prisoners. Nor was this all. A year earlier, in 1847, the same Secretary of State had written intimating that British soldiers in Mauritius, sentenced by Court-martial

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*Lord Grey's
attempt to
make the
Cape a
penal
settlement.*

PART I. to transportation, would be sent to the Cape as ordinary criminals, and not on ticket of leave ; and in 1848 and 1849 there came further intimations that the Cape would be required to receive also military offenders from India, from Ceylon, and from Hongkong.

Indignation at the Cape.

The resentment of the Cape colonists knew no bounds. They suddenly found their land advertised to the world as a convict settlement, and their wishes ignored at the very moment when they were asked to express them. It was a crisis of no ordinary kind. The colonists had lately been invited to take up parliamentary rights, yet the very statesmen who preached the goodness of self-government, outraged, by an arbitrary act, the unanimous feeling of the community. If British subjects at the Cape were fit for an elected legislature, they deserved to be consulted on a matter which nearly concerned their social welfare ; they had been told that their wishes would be respected, and yet behind their backs a policy was being put into force, which they honestly loathed and condemned. One of the Governor's despatches enclosed thirty-seven memorials against transportation, the next eighteen. All spoke with one voice, Dutch and English, municipalities and congregations, townspeople, agriculturists sorely in want of labour but refusing to draw it from a tainted source. Women petitioned, coloured men petitioned, the Mohammedan Malays of Capetown uttered the same prayer as their Christian fellow subjects. 'The past and present uniform and unchangeable feeling of all the inhabitants, both Dutch and English, excepting only rebels, rogues, and rascals, who would of course hail an influx of congenial spirits with delight, is extremely adverse to the introduction of any convicts¹,' so ran a petition from the Colesberg division ; and later the Governor wrote in warning tone. 'This is the first occasion in which the Dutch and English

¹ Despatches relative to the reception of convicts at the Cape of Good Hope, January, 1850, p. 18.

inhabitants have coalesced in opposition to government¹. To the argument that the Imperial Parliament had paid large sums on behalf of the colony, and that the colony should in turn be prepared to share the burdens of the empire, the colonists retorted bitterly that the expenditure had been incurred through a policy towards the Kaffir tribes, which they had not originated and did not approve, and through which they had sustained loss of life and property². Nor were they soothed by learning that a vote had been taken in Parliament to send free emigrants to the Cape equal in number to the convicts, seeing that part of the vote was to be expended in providing passages for the convicts' wives and families. It seemed to Lord Grey no great matter to disperse through the country a limited number of ex-criminals, for whom work could easily be found, and who would no longer associate with men of bad character, or breathe the atmosphere of crime; but it was in the dispersion that danger was foreseen. The bushranger would find a paradise in the Cape Colony, with its isolated farms and scattered homesteads, with coloured vagrants ready to be turned into banditti, and Kaffir tribes on the frontier offering a refuge to broken men. A fine field for lawlessness might South Africa have become, had a little of the convict leaven entered into its complex social system; and right and true were the instincts of the colonists, when neither at the Cape nor yet at Natal would they listen to specious arguments in favour of receiving a few 'exiles' from the mother-land.

News travelled slowly half a century ago, and, while despatches were being written, the ship *Neptune* left England for Bermuda, was there freighted with ticket-of-leave men, and sailed for the Cape. In September, 1849, she anchored in Simons Bay. The colonists had expected her coming.

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¹ Despatches relative to the reception of convicts at the Cape of Good Hope, January, 1850, p. 95.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 36, 59.

PART I. They were ready, as were the men of Massachusetts, when the tea-ships arrived in Boston Harbour. Once more the English Government attempted to impose upon a colony an unpopular measure; once more the measure was resisted, and with complete success. As the New Englanders bound themselves to use no imported tea, while the obnoxious

The opposition of the colonists.

duties lasted, so the Cape colonists took a pledge—a solemn covenant—to have no dealings with the convicts, with any who employed them, or with the Government which countenanced and protected them. An anti-convict association had been formed, and a vigilance committee. Supplies were refused to the soldiers, to the sailors, and to the police. The banks notified that they would deal with no one who in any way favoured the reception of the convicts. Members of the Legislative Council resigned, and those who took their places were mobbed and forced to resign also. Business was at a stand-still, trade was out of gear, and the Government of the colony was face to face with an opposition which would only yield to force of arms. The Governor, Sir Harry Smith, was placed in a difficult position, and one unfair to himself. Trained as an old soldier in habits of loyal obedience, he was called upon to carry out a policy against which he had protested, and of which he strongly disapproved. In one point he deviated from his instructions. He delayed the landing of the convicts, and kept them on ship-board in the harbour, until his representations and the numberless memorials which from time to time he had forwarded to the Secretary of State had been duly considered and acknowledged. At length, in February 1850, a despatch from Lord Grey, written at the end of the previous November, reached the colony, directing that the convicts should be sent on to Van Diemen's Land, and intimating that the Order in Council which authorised transportation to the Cape would be immediately revoked.

The convicts withdrawn.

Political

Thus the Cape colonists stood up against the Imperial

Government and prevailed. South Africa was saved from Ch. VII.
 whatever evils transportation might have brought in its train, ^{effect of the}
 and a far wider principle was established, a far greater object ^{success of}
 was indirectly attained. A precedent was made that, on a ^{the anti-}
 question which specially concerned South Africa, and with ^{convict}
 regard to which the people of South Africa were at one, ^{agitation.}
 their will must be obeyed. The colonists had tried their
 strength and won the day. They had won it by presenting
 an united front to the demands and the claims of the mother
 country. It was a long step forward in the training for
 independence. It was a notable lesson in combination.
 Thenceforward the line of difference between Great Britain
 and her colony may have been more distinctly drawn, but at
 any rate it crossed and tended to obliterate the dividing line
 of race in South Africa itself. Once more in history it was
 demonstrated that internal unity and patriotic sentiment is
 promoted by pressure from outside; and when the *Neptune*
 sailed off to Australia, she left behind a people who had
 gained a new sense of life.

In comparing the statistics of population of the Cape *Statistics of*
 Colony in different years, it is necessary to bear in mind the *population*
 various additions which have been made to its territory. *in the Cape*
Colony.
 Moreover, until within comparatively recent times, the
 figures given were little more than rough estimates. Still
 returns which are to be found in books and papers furnish
 abundant evidence of a steadily growing people. In 1830
 the total population of the colony, including all classes,
 white and coloured alike, was estimated at 125,000, and
 in 1840, though the great Boer emigration had in the
 meantime taken place, at 156,000. In 1849, according to
 a Parliamentary return published in 1852, the total population
 of the colony (excluding British Kaffraria but including the
 frontier districts on the east and north-east annexed by
 Sir Harry Smith) was estimated at 218,000. To this total
 the Western province contributed 115,000, and the Eastern

PART I. province 103,000. Capetown contained 24,000 residents of all races, and outside it the white population of the Western province numbered 42,000 against 49,000 coloured inhabitants. In the Eastern province there were 34,000 white citizens against 69,000 coloured, Port Elizabeth being a town of some 4,000 inhabitants. In 1855 the population of the colony was returned at 268,000; while the census of 1865 gave a total of 496,000, 182,000 of whom were whites; the large increase in numbers shown in the ten years being due, it would seem, to more careful calculation as well as to natural increase and immigration from Europe, and to the settlement of natives within the colonial border. In 1875, British Kaffraria having in the meantime been incorporated in the Cape Colony, the population returns amounted to 721,000, the white population numbering 237,000. The number of inhabitants in Capetown had risen to 32,000, in addition to 12,000 in its suburbs: Port Elizabeth was credited with 13,000 residents, and Grahams-town with 7,000. There were in that year throughout the colony 3.60 inhabitants to the square mile, as against 2.52 in 1865. It has been stated above¹ that in 1805, after the settlement of the Cape had been in existence for a century and a half, the civil European population of the Cape Colony numbered 26,000, which number fairly represented the total European population of South Africa. Seventy years later the white population of the Cape Colony numbered not far short of a quarter of a million, and, in addition, very many Dutch and English colonists had settled in Natal and the Boer republics.

*Growth of
revenue,
trade, &c.*

As population grew, the resources of the colony were steadily developed. The revenue in 1835 was £133,000. In 1855 it was £306,000, in 1875 £1,603,000², customs

¹ See above, p. 109.

² The authorised return of revenue for 1875 was in round numbers £2,246,000, but this included 'loans in aid of revenue' to the amount of £643,000.

duties being year by year more remunerative. In 1835 the exports were valued at £362,000; in 1855 the colonial produce exported was valued at £971,000; and in 1875 at more than four million sterling. In 1869 the Suez Canal was opened to public traffic. On St. Helena the effect was disastrous. Revenue, trade, shipping, all fell away. But with the Cape it was otherwise. Once, like St. Helena, a stopping-place for ships that sailed to and from the East, it had long since passed into a new and far wider stage, and it may be questioned whether the severance of the ties which had bound it to another continent did not give a new impetus to its internal growth. Such at least is the conclusion to be drawn from the returns of trade and revenue, which rose by leaps and bounds.

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*Effect on
the Cape of
the opening
of the Suez
Canal.*

Of the products of the colony, wine was no longer so prominent as once it had been, and the export of grain fell off, but any diminution under these heads was far more than counter-balanced by the growing export of wool. In the years 1836-40 wool represented less than 12 per cent. of the total value of exports from the colony, in 1841-5 32 per cent., in 1846-50 53 per cent. In 1875 the wool exported was valued at considerably more than two and three-quarter million pounds sterling, or in other words at nearly eight times the value of the total exports of the colony forty years before. Sheep's wool was supplemented by angora hair, and ostrich feathers became an important article of export.

*Ostrich
feathers.*

Copper was for many years the only mineral product of the colony. Its existence in Namaqualand had been known almost from the earliest days of European settlement at the Cape, but it was not till 1852 that it appeared in the list of exports. In 1875 the copper ore exported was valued at a quarter of a million sterling. The Ookiep mine is situated on the Western side of South Africa, in a desert region far removed from the main centres of population, and copper

*Mineral
products.
Copper.*

PART I. mining, while adding to the wealth of the colony, has never
 —♦— affected its history to any appreciable extent, or played a part
 in changing its political or social conditions. It was far

Diamonds. otherwise when diamonds were discovered in the Griquas' territory, on the direct route from Capetown to the interior. In 1867 news came that a diamond had been picked up in the Hopetown district of the Cape Colony near the Orange River, and prospectors searched the banks of that river and of the Vaal, finding traces of diamonds along their course. They followed the Vaal upwards, past Klipdrift (now Barkly West), as far as Hebron; and, while the river diggings were being carried on, a great find was made in 1870 of diamonds in 'dry diggings' some twenty miles further south, on farms between the Vaal and the Modder Rivers. Here the town of Kimberley has become one of the

Political effect of the discovery of diamonds. mining centres of the world. In a pastoral and agricultural community the sudden discovery of great mineral wealth works something like a revolution. It brings in a stream of adventurers from other lands, men of strength and enterprise, rough and ready in their ways and thoughts, with democratic and cosmopolitan tendencies, hardworking, hardliving, making money and spending it. It concentrates population at particular points, and towns spring up, as it were in a night, instinct with restless life. So it was in Victoria when gold was found at Ballarat, and so it has been in late years in the South African republic, where, on the gold-bearing ridge of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg now numbers many thousand inhabitants. A new strain entered into South African history, when diamonds came to light at Kimberley. The digger, the capitalist, the company promoter, jostled the slow moving Dutch farmer and quickened the pace of life. The dusty land where the stones were found was not a greater contrast to the glittering diamond, than were the conditions which mining brought to the stolid sobriety of a scattered pastoral people.

The political effect of the find was greater in that the mines were opened beyond the Orange River, which English statesmen had fondly hoped would remain the northern boundary of British territory. Already that line had been passed on the north-east by the Proclamation of British sovereignty over Basutoland in March, 1868. By the terms of the treaty of 1854, which recognised the independence of the Orange Free State, the British Government retained no alliance with any native chief to the north of the Orange River, with the exception of the Griqua Adam Kok. Moshesh and the Basutos were left to live side by side with the Boers, in war or peace as the case might be. Border raids recurred, almost as a matter of course. There was fighting from 1856 to 1858, then an inconclusive treaty, and again intermittent war. In 1861 the Basuto chieftain asked for British protection. In 1864 the Governor of the Cape arbitrated between him and the Boers; but in the following year and in 1866 Boers and Basutos were at war again. Several of the mountain strongholds were taken by the Dutchmen, the best of the cornland fell into their hands, and beaten and dispirited, in April, 1866, Moshesh ceded part of his territory and signed his submission to the Orange Free State. The Dutch commando withdrew, and the Basutos promptly rose again, but were starved out by the destruction of their crops, and in despair offered themselves and their country to the British Government. The appeal was received, in spite of remonstrances from the Orange Free State, the Basutos became British subjects, and were safeguarded by a body of frontier police; and on February 12, 1869, the treaty of Aliwal North was signed between the High Commissioner and representatives of the Orange Free State, by which a part of what had originally been Basutoland was finally incorporated in the Free State, and the rest of the country was recognised as forming part of the British Empire.

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Proclamation of
British
sovereignty
over Basu-
toland,
1868.

Treaty of
Aliwal
North,
1869.

PART I.

Annexa-
tion of
Griqua-
land West,
1871.

The Keate
award,
1871.

Hardly had the Basuto difficulty been settled, when the rush of diamond seekers into Griqualand began. The diggers went over the Orange River in thousands, and a large population soon congregated at spots which a few months before had been little better than an unheeded wilderness. The land where the diamonds were found was claimed by the Griqua chief Waterboer, the head of the Western Grikwas. He claimed it in virtue of an arrangement which his father had made many years before with Adam Kok, the leader of the Eastern Griqua clans¹. It was claimed, on the other hand, by the Orange Free State, in which Adam Kok's land had been absorbed. The Transvaal republic also put in a claim to the northern part of the disputed territory, lying between the Vaal and the Harts Rivers. This last claim was eventually submitted to the arbitration of Mr. Keate, Lieutenant-governor of Natal; and by his award, given on October 17, 1871, a boundary line was drawn between the Transvaal republic and the lands of Waterboer and the Bechuana chiefs to the north, which in effect debarred the republic from the territory which it had hoped to gain. The Volksraad tried to repudiate the decision, on the ground that the President of the State had no authority to enter into the negotiation, and, up to the date when the Transvaal was annexed by the British Government, the Keate award remained, as far as the Boers were concerned, an open sore.

More pressing was the question at issue between Waterboer and the Orange Free State, as the land which both parties claimed included the bulk of the diamond diggings. In the interests of South Africa generally it was necessary that the territory, with its large and growing European population, should be brought as soon as possible under recognised authority with adequate guarantees for law and order, and the fact that the great majority of the diggers were British

¹ See above, p. 185.

subjects, pointed obviously to British rule. Sir Henry Barkly, the High Commissioner, suggested settlement by arbitration, but the terms which were proffered were not accepted by the Orange Free State. Meanwhile Waterboer, like Moshesh, invited the sovereignty of the Queen over his land and people, and, as the best solution of a pressing difficulty, that sovereignty was proclaimed. Under date of October 27, 1871, a proclamation was issued by the High Commissioner, accepting the allegiance of Waterboer and the Griquas as British subjects, and declaring their territory to be British territory; and a line was drawn which cut off the diamond district from the Orange Free State, and included it in the new British Province of Griqualand West. This step was not taken without strong protest on the part of the Government of the Free State, but the dispute was finally closed in July 1876, when President Brand and Lord Carnarvon, then Secretary of State, signed a convention in London, awarding to the Free State a sum of £90,000 in consideration of the abandonment of their claim.

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Very complicated were these boundary questions, fruitful in despatches and protests; but their interest does not consist in the arguments which were used and in the correspondence which passed; it lies in the event and in what the event implied. The Sand River Convention, and the Bloemfontein treaty of 1854, were the low-water mark of the ebbing tide of British influence in South Africa. Withdrawal behind the Orange River, no interference to the north of that river, was the policy which the British Government gave to the world. The Boers and the natives were to settle their own disputes, the English were to look on, and the Cape Colony was to be unmoved. Not many years passed before this policy was reversed. The annexation of Basutoland, the Keate award, the proclamation of British sovereignty over Griqualand West proved in unmistakeable fashion that the tide had turned, and that a strong current

*Claim of
the Orange
Free State
in regard
to the
diamond
fields*

*finally com-
promised in
1876.*

*Extension
of British
territory
in South
Africa.*

PART I. was setting northward. It is never wise to lay down a hard and fast policy with regard to a land whose conditions and possibilities are unknown or imperfectly known. Year after year brings some new fact to light, and what had been confidently proclaimed becomes impossible to carry out. It might well have been foreseen, that, however much the Imperial Government might disavow responsibilities, however strict might be the injunctions against interference, disturbances on the frontier of the Cape Colony must concern the government of that colony; the paramount power in South Africa, the keeper of its seaboard, must be the referee in disputes between Boers and natives, and its decisions must be enforced. It was not as conquerors, but as arbitrators, that the English went forward once more, as judges between peoples with conflicting claims, as holding the balance even between the black and the white. The actual discovery of mineral wealth in Griqualand was unexpected, yet it may fairly be argued that the possibility of some such contingency occurring in the future might have been borne in mind. The resources of Africa were in no way developed, any day might disclose some new fount of wealth, and, wherever it came to the surface, there Englishmen were sure to congregate. As it was, the discovery of diamonds exploded the theory that the only value of South Africa to England consisted in the naval station at Simons Bay. Whatever Secretaries of State may have thought and said, Englishmen now knew better, and their government had to follow their lead. What had been done was to a great extent undone, what had been said was modified or unsaid, and the net result was British advance, coupled with not unnatural irritation on the part of the Boers in the Orange Free State and the Transvaal republic. Circumscribed in their limits, the Boer republics were, by being circumscribed, to some extent consolidated. There was an awakening of national sentiment, and

a widening of the breach between the Dutch and English in CH. VII.
South Africa.

In the period to which this chapter is devoted, one great force was wanting which has since played an all-important part in South African colonisation. Railways were as yet hardly in existence. The first railway worked in South Africa is said to have been a little line at Durban in Natal, from the landing place to the town, which was opened in 1860. By an Act of 1872, the Cape Government took over the railways of the Cape Colony, which then consisted of a line from Capetown to Stellenbosch and Wellington in the Paarl district, with a branch line to Wynberg, the total length being between 63 and 64 miles. In 1874 an expenditure on railway extension of nearly five millions sterling was authorised; and now the iron road runs far north through Bechuanaland, and there is unbroken railway connexion between Capetown and Delagoa Bay. The difficulties of South Africa in past times were, in great measure, perhaps in the main, geographical difficulties. Peoples dispersed and remained severed from one another, because the distances were so great, the means of access so inadequate, and the power of control in consequence so limited. These difficulties railways are fast surmounting, and, as each new line is opened, one more link is forged to hold together a great dominion, which should not be divided.

Natal is now spanned by a line which, branching beyond the Tugela, crosses the Drakensberg mountains into the Orange Free State on the north-west, into the South African republic on the north. A little more than half a century ago, when the territory became a British colony, its horizon was bounded by the mountains and the sea, and for many years subsequently the history of Natal was, on the whole, one of steady but not striking progress. For two years after British sovereignty was proclaimed, no regular forms of government were instituted. At Durban Major Smith com-

The beginning of railways in South Africa.

Progress of Natal.

PART I.
 —♦—
*Constitutional
 changes in
 Natal.*

manded the troops, and acted as Governor; in the country the Boer Volksraad still remained in existence. At length, in August 1845, Natal was annexed to the Cape Colony, and ordinances were passed by the legislature of the Cape, declaring the Roman Dutch law to be the law of the land, and providing for the administration of justice. In November of the same year the colony was given a separate administration, consisting of a Lieutenant-governor and an Executive Council, but its laws were still made at Capetown. In 1848 a further step forward was taken, and a local Legislative Council was created, though consisting only of official members. Finally, in 1856, the colony was entirely severed from the Cape, and started on its own career with a Legislative Council consisting of four official members and twelve elected representatives. The Governor still bore the title of Lieutenant-governor, but within the limits of the colony he was no longer subordinate to the Governor of the Cape, though outside those limits the latter was supreme in virtue of his position as High Commissioner for South Africa. Many constitutional changes were subsequently made, including, in 1869, the introduction into the Executive Council of two of the elected members of the Legislative Council; and finally, in 1893, fifty years after it first became a British possession, Natal received the gift of Responsible Government.

*Extension
 of the colony
 of Natal
 to the
 south.*

The boundaries of the Cape Colony were ever changing. It was otherwise in the case of Natal. The Drakensberg and the Indian Ocean were bounds fixed by nature, and on the north-east the Buffalo and the Lower Tugela continued to mark the line between the colony on one side, the Transvaal republic and Zululand on the other. Only on the south was there any extension of territory. The land between the Umzimkulu and the Umtamvuna Rivers, which now forms the county of Alfred¹, was annexed in 1866. It had been

¹ So called in honour of the visit of Prince Alfred to Natal in 1860.

part of the debateable border territory, considered by the emigrant farmers as within the limits of the Natal republic, but handed over by the British Government to Faku the Pondo chief. Faku in turn subsequently relinquished his claims, the inland portion of the territory became Griqualand East, and the coast country adjoining Natal was incorporated in that colony.

CH. VII.

In Natal the European settlers were few; the Kaffirs were many, and constantly growing in numbers. Alarmed by the multitude of the black men, whose rights were recognised by the Colonial Government, irritated by a land settlement which they considered illiberal, the Dutch farmers had in great measure left the country. The exodus was in part checked by the visit of Sir Harry Smith in 1848 and his appointment of a Land Commission, and up country many of the Boers settled down peaceably on their farms. Still a large proportion of the Dutchmen had gone and did not return, and the population of Natal, other than the Kaffirs, was mainly recruited by immigrants from over the seas. In 1852 the total population of the colony was estimated at nearly 121,000 persons, of whom under 8,000 were of European descent, against some 113,000 natives. Of the white inhabitants 1,500 lived in Pietermaritzburg, and 1,100 at Durban. Colonists of Dutch origin constituted from one-third to one-half of the white population, the remainder being mainly immigrants from the United Kingdom or the Cape, with an admixture of Germans. Between the years 1848 and 1852 about 5,000 immigrants arrived in the colony, the majority of whom were assisted from public funds. Among the new comers were a few German families, imported from Bremen by a German firm, and established at a settlement some miles inland from Durban, which was christened New Germany. A few Yorkshire immigrants were also introduced under favourable auspices; but the main scheme of immigration, which was tried in these years, was an ill-advised and

*Immigra-
tion into
Natal.*

*Byrne's
immi-
grants.*

- : 1. impracticable enterprise, under which Mr. Byrne brought in more than 2,000 settlers from the United Kingdom. The basis of his scheme was that each adult immigrant should, on arrival in Natal, receive an allotment of twenty acres; and experience proved, as it had proved in the case of the Albany settlement, that small grants of land were wholly inadequate. Byrne's colonists too, like many of the Albany settlers, instead of being skilled agriculturists possessed of some capital, were in great measure mechanics and small tradesmen, ill qualified to make a living as South African farmers. The lots were not properly surveyed, the immigrants found no suitable accommodation, and no means of transport to their allotted homes. On its original lines the undertaking was a complete failure, causing much misery and distress; many of the immigrants drifted off to the Australian gold fields; and, though the scheme, like other unsuccessful ventures of the same kind, resulted in the survival of the fittest and in the end contributed to Natal a number of thriving citizens, it tended to create a prejudice against the colony as a field of British immigration.

*Growth of
revenue
and trade.*

Notwithstanding, a rising revenue testified to growing prosperity, the main items being customs duties, quit rents, stamp duties, and native hut tax. The exports too rose steadily from year to year. In 1853 ivory headed the list, procured mainly in the Zulus' country; butter came next, and sheep's wool showed a large increase. In 1851 the value of the wool exported was only £300, in 1853 it was over £3,000, in 1862 it was £38,000, in 1872 it was £274,000. In 1853 the sub-tropical products, for which the low-lying coast district of Natal is so well suited, had not been developed. A Natal cotton company was formed in 1847, but met with little success, and the first sugar canes were only planted in 1852. Ten years later, in 1862, the sugar export was valued at £21,000, and after another ten years, in 1872, at £154,000. Sugar growing brought in its

*Coolie im-
migration.*

train a new class of immigrant, the East Indian coolie. In 1860 indentured coolie immigration began, and by the end of 1875 more than 12,000 East Indians had been brought over. A fresh leaven was thus infused into the population of the colony, and while the Cape was losing its connexion with the East, Natal began to send to India for its labour supply.

CH. VII.



'The civilisation and improvement of the inhabitants of this part of Africa are the main objects to which I look from the maintenance of this colony¹. Thus Lord Grey summed up his reasons for keeping the territory of Natal under British rule. The Kaffirs formed an overwhelming majority of the population. European settlement was on a very small scale and of recent date. It was but equitable, as well as consistent with facts and common sense, that native interests should form a first charge upon the concern of a government, which professed to hold sway in South Africa on moral at least as much as on material grounds. To maintain peace, to promote civilisation, but to avoid as far as possible interference with the tribal system and with native laws and customs, when not contrary to humanity, was the sum and substance of the instructions which came from home. Locations were set aside for the Kaffir clans. In 1851 seven such reserves had already been constituted, mainly in the wilder districts of the territory, the average size of each reserve being 180,000 acres. Within the limits of these locations, subject to European supervision and to the paramount authority of the Lieutenant-governor of Natal, who was constituted Supreme Chief, the tribal system prevailed, and the Kaffirs lived under native law, as in the days before the English were masters of the land. It was the most convenient and least expensive method of administration, but it

*Native
policy in
Natal.*

*Kaffir loca-
tions.*

¹ Lord Grey to Sir H. Pottinger, December 4, 1846. Correspondence relative to the establishment of the settlement of Natal, July, 1848, pp. 93-4.

PART I. tended to keep white men and black apart, and to maintain, if not to strengthen, the power of the native chiefs, a power which contained the elements of danger.

The rebellion of Langelibalele.

On the head-waters of the Bushman River, and on the fringe of the Drakensberg mountains, where rising to many thousand feet they form the western frontier of Natal, separating the colony from Basutoland, was located the Hlubi clan of Kaffirs, refugees from Zululand, under a chief of long descent and great personal influence, Langelibalele. His young men had been to work in the diamond fields, and brought back guns into Natal, where the possession of fire-arms, unless duly registered, was strictly prohibited. Notice was taken of the matter in 1873, and the chief was summoned to Pietermaritzburg to answer for the breach of the law. Twice and three times he was summoned, but failed to come, and prepared for flight over the mountains into Basutoland. A small mixed force was sent against him, but he made his escape, and in the Bushman River Pass his followers attacked the advanced guard of the pursuers and took two or three lives. It was such an affray as had in former times preluded in South Africa a serious native war; but the Basutos gave the fugitive chief no support, the Cape police cut off his retreat, and in little more than a month from the fight at the Bushman River Pass he was arrested at a Basuto village, and brought back to Pietermaritzburg to be tried as a rebel against the Supreme Chief. The trial took place before a special court, whose proceedings were subsequently closely criticised, and the sentence was banishment for life. The old chief was accordingly sent as a prisoner to Robben Island, and his clan was, with some loss of life, utterly broken up. Langelibalele, however, was not without friends among the white men, and his cause was warmly espoused by Colenso, Bishop of Natal. By his unwearied pleading the Bishop procured a modification of the sentence, and Langelibalele was removed from Robben Island to a

location in the Cape Colony, and finally returned to Natal in 1886 to close his life. CH. VII.

This rebellion, or rather disturbance, for so small an outbreak could hardly be dignified by the name of rebellion, drew attention to the position of the natives in Natal, and to the influence which was exercised by the chiefs. The civil administration of the colony seemed to require reform, and the policy which had hitherto upheld the tribal system among the Kaffir subjects of the Queen was called in question. In 1875 Sir Garnet Wolseley was sent out to Natal on a mission, which lasted but five months, to replace the former Lieutenant-governor, to make inquiry, and to initiate certain changes. The constitution was modified in the direction of giving more power to the Executive, the power of the chiefs was greatly limited by placing them under the more direct superintendence of European officers, the Kaffirs in the locations were made amenable to the ordinary criminal law of the colony, and for the trial of civil cases a Native High Court was instituted. Thus civilised law began to replace native custom, and the Kaffir tribesman advanced a stage towards the level of the white citizen.

Most of the Kaffir clans in Natal had once been subordinate to the Zulu power. Since Panda took the place of Dingaan, that power had been quiescent, and the limits assigned to Zululand had been faithfully observed. But the military system, which Chaka had perfected, was still in existence; and, consolidated within narrower boundaries than before, the Zulus had still no equals among the fighting tribes of Africa. A leader they wanted, and a leader they found in Cetewayo, Panda's eldest son. King Panda was a man of peace, a firm ally of the white men, who had helped him in bygone days; but he ruled a people mindful of their past, whose hearts were in warring and bloodshed. As years went on, unwieldy in body, enfeebled in mind, he lost his hold over the young men of his nation,

*Mission of
Sir Garnet
Wolseley in
1875.*

*Zululand.
The rise of
Cetewayo.*

PART I. and his power passed into the able hands of his son, a man of the type of the Zulu chieftains who had gone before. For a time there were two factions in Zululand, led by two sons of the old King, Cetewayo and his younger brother Umbulazi; and at the end of 1856 the rival parties met and fought on the banks of the Tugela, when Umbulazi was killed, and large numbers of his followers were massacred. In the following year, at a great meeting of the Zulu people, Cetewayo was associated with his father in the government, becoming the virtual though not the nominal ruler of the Zulus; and in 1861, in the presence of a Natal officer, Mr. Shepstone, he was formally installed as Panda's rightful heir, the future king of Zululand. Panda died in 1872; and in 1873, at Cetewayo's own request, Shepstone again went to Zululand as the representative of the Natal Government, and by the Umfolosi River took part in the ceremony which answered to the coronation of the new king. The occasion was marked by every sign of respect and friendship towards the white men, and proclamations were issued to the effect that indiscriminate blood-shedding was to cease, that no life was to be taken without fair trial, and that death should no longer be the penalty for minor offences. So Cetewayo's reign opened with fair professions: Shepstone's mission returned to Natal; and a warrior people under a warrior king spoke of peace but made ready for war.

The movement towards South African confederation.

Through the tangled maze of South African politics, there ran, as a golden thread, the hope and the possibility of some form of confederation. Not many years since there had been but one European Government in South Africa, and thinking men still looked for union or re-union of the several states or provinces, divided for the time by political differences or special local needs, but linked none the less by the lasting ties of kindred blood and common traditions. The British colonies owned the coast-line, the ports of entry and exit, and thus could control in great measure the customs revenue

of the inland states: it seemed, therefore, that the financial interests of those states would be best consulted by the establishment of a federal system, under which the dues collected at Capetown, Port Elizabeth, East London, and Durban would not merely enrich the governments of the Cape Colony and Natal, but contribute to the benefit of the whole of South Africa. A common policy towards the natives was clearly wanted. There would be more security, more respect for the white man, were the Kaffir clans to realise that there was one uniform system through the length and breadth of the land, one strong administration putting an end to the local jealousies, petty intrigues, and shifty dealings which, now in one territory, now in another, caused the native races to be alternately courted and oppressed. There was also another side to the question. Confederation might bring in its train further subdivision, and, provided that a central government was once firmly established, local governments might with advantage be multiplied. We have noted the strong feeling of antagonism between East and West, which for some years threatened to dismember the Cape Colony. An obvious solution appeared to be the partition of the colony into provinces, each with a local administration, but all subordinate, with other parts of South Africa, to one supreme authority.

When Sir George Grey was Governor of the Cape, the question of South African confederation came into prominence. As governor of New Zealand, he had dealt with problems not dissimilar to those which required handling in South Africa. In New Zealand there was a native difficulty, which he faced and faced successfully; and in that colony he carried out a federal system, consisting of Provincial Councils under a Central Legislature. He found in South Africa three British possessions, the Cape Colony, British Kaffraria, and Natal, and behind them the two Boer Republics. Twenty years before there had been the Cape

*Policy
advocated
by Sir
George
Grey.*

Colony alone. He looked to the incorporation of British Kaffraria in the Cape Colony, and to wider union and consolidation, as the true policy to be pursued, and from time to time he gave indications of his views to the Imperial Government. In September, 1858, the Secretary of State for the time, Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, invited a more definite expression of opinion than had yet been given. How far, he asked, might it be deemed practicable to combine in federal union all the British possessions in South Africa, and what permanent line of policy should be adopted, consistent with existent treaties, towards the two Boer states. The despatch was explicit, but carefully guarded, and no hint was given of any scheme of confederation which would include the republics. Meanwhile, however, from the Orange Free State had come signs of a growing wish for reunion with the Cape Colony. The Basuto wars had sorely tried the slender resources of the territory, and a memorial was circulating among its leading residents in favour of 'federal union with the parent colony'.¹ Later, the Volksraad passed a formal resolution to the effect that 'a union or alliance with the Cape Colony either on the plan of federation or otherwise is desirable',² and this resolution Sir George Grey undertook to submit to the Cape Parliament. Before he had received it, he had already, in a despatch dated November 19, 1858, set out in full his views upon the political future of South Africa. Clearly and forcibly he laid before the Queen's Government the mistakes which in his opinion had been made in the past, and with equal clearness and equal force he sketched out a policy for the future. The dismemberment of South Africa, he contended, had taken place under the mistaken impression, that no part of the South African continent was valuable to England beyond

¹ Correspondence respecting the recall of Sir George Grey and his subsequent reappointment, April, 1860, p. 1.

² *Ibid.*, p. 12.

the sea-port of Simons Bay; and in their hurry to be rid of trouble, responsibility, and expenditure, the Imperial Government had ceded territories, and alienated subjects, without waiting to ascertain the true wishes of the people, and 'before any free form of government had been introduced into or tried in any part of South Africa¹.' Based on misconception, the policy had failed, resulting in weak unstable European communities, and in widespread and dangerous ill feeling on the part of the natives. For a remedy he looked to a federal union, in which the separate colonies and states, each with its own local government and legislature, should be combined under a general representative legislature, led by a responsible ministry, and specially charged with the duty of providing for common defence. 'The constitution of New Zealand,' he wrote, 'embodies the model which I should propose for adoption, and that form of government could easily be so altered as to suit in every particular the circumstances of South Africa².'

Perplexing it must have been at the time to the home Government, perplexing it is to readers now, to find what contradictory accounts were given by trusted and competent advisers, in the space of very few years, of the feelings and the wishes of the people of South Africa. Sir George Clerk said one thing in 1853, in 1858 Sir George Grey said another. Where did the truth lie? it may well have been asked. Which were the counsels of wisdom? Sir George Grey was probably right, when he argued that it was unwise to withdraw British sovereignty from lands and peoples over which it had been proclaimed, 'before any free form of government had been introduced into or tried in any part of South Africa.' The sovereignty might have been nominal for a time, the actual exercise of rule and authority might have remained in abeyance, but it would have been well to retain if only the shadow of Imperial control, and under it

¹ Correspondence as above, p. 4.

² *Ibid.*, p. 10.

AT I. gradually to build up a series of self-governing communities. The truth was that the principles of colonial self-government had not taken root in South Africa in time to forestall separation. Even in other colonies Responsible Government was, when Sir George Grey wrote, still in the experimental stage. It was a new light when there came to the Cape a Governor who saw clearly, and stated clearly, how freedom and empire might be harmonised, who set equal value on the one and on the other, who discerned how in course of time the rebel to a despotic government might become the loyal citizen of a self-governing South African state, where local liberties would be secure, and where the British flag would mean protection, but not interference.

*Recall and
reinstatement
of
Sir George
Grey.*

Sir George Grey was ahead of his time, or at least in front of his employers in England. His views were broader than theirs, his proposals too large for their liking. They asked for information, and he gave them a scheme. They contemplated the possibility of federating the British possessions in South Africa; he openly advocated federal union, which should include the republics also. They took alarm, and sent word that in no shape could British sovereignty be resumed over the Orange Free State; but, before their instructions reached the Governor, he had already laid before the Cape Parliament the overtures which the Free State had made for federal union. He had gone too fast, if not too far; he had exceeded his authority; and on other and different matters he was held to have disregarded instructions. Once more a South African Governor was punished for being too strong by the sentence of recall, and once more the sympathy of South Africa was enlisted on the side of the culprit. The sentence was not carried out. A change of government occurred in England. The Duke of Newcastle succeeded Bulwer Lytton at the Colonial Office, and while disavowing, as his predecessor had disavowed, Sir George Grey's policy, on public as well as private grounds he retained his services.

The Governor came home on leave, and returned for a while to his government at the Cape, but not to carry out the far-reaching policy which he had boldly and wisely conceived. 'I much fear,' he sadly wrote before leaving Capetown for the first time, 'that the opportunity of establishing such a federation as I had proposed has now been lost for ever!'

CH. VII.

An opportunity, possibly, was lost, but none the less from that time onward by statesmen and thinkers the one solution of South African difficulties was held to be federation. The conditions varied from time to time. Local sentiment varied; but union or re-union continued to be more than a dream. The Canadian Dominion, consolidated in 1867, was held up as a model to South Africa, and Lord Carnarvon, who carried out the confederation of the British North American provinces, looked to completing a similar work in South Africa. Various causes, however, were operating in a different direction. The proclamation of British sovereignty over Basutoland had the effect of relieving the Orange Free State of a native difficulty which had tended to draw the burghers closer to their brethren in the Cape Colony, and at the same time was regarded by the Dutchmen as an act of British aggression; while the annexation of the Diamond Fields still further embittered the feeling in the two republics against the Imperial Government. In the Cape Colony itself, where a federation commission was appointed in 1872, the question immediately at issue was the subdivision of the colony and the creation of provincial governments within its limits; the grant of Responsible Government followed shortly afterwards, and, while the new system was young, colonial politicians were content to carve out electoral districts, and little inclined to embark upon a new sea of troubles, or to put their hands to further and wider experiments. The impulse towards federation came rather from

*Federation
pressed on
South
Africa
from with-
out.*

¹ Copies of further papers with reference to the recall of Governor Sir George Grey, June, 1860, p. 1.

PART I. without than from within, and, instead of holding back their
 —♦— representatives in South Africa, the Secretaries of State at home now urged them on.

Lord Carnarvon at the Colonial Office.

Proposed South African conference.

Mr. Froude's visit to the Cape.

In 1874 Lord Carnarvon came back to the Colonial Office, and in May 1875 he wrote to the Governor of the Cape, proposing that delegates of the various South African states should be invited to meet in conference at some place in the colony, to discuss native policy and other points of common interest, prepared, if opportunity offered, to ventilate 'the all-important question of a possible union of South Africa in some form of confederation¹.' As the English representative at such a conference he nominated Mr. Froude. Cordially made, his invitation was not received with equal cordiality by the responsible ministers of the Cape Colony. The proposals they considered to be premature, and to the details of the despatch which contained them they took exception. Their attitude was intelligible. They had but lately taken up the reins of government over an undivided colony, and feared that a movement towards confederation might involve renewal of schemes for provincial separation. Moreover, like young men lately come to manhood, they resented advice and guidance from the mother country. In South Africa not in England, they contended, must originate any proposals for South African union. It was not for a minister in Downing Street to point out to self-governing colonists the way in which they should walk, and the goal to which they should strive to attain. Mr. Froude's visit intensified their opposition. He came clothed with authority, but not with official authority. He gained support in the press and at public meetings, but his position was rather that of an exponent of Lord Carnarvon's views than the position of an accredited delegate to a formal conference. The conference never took place, but was superseded by a proposal for another

¹ Correspondence respecting the proposed conference of delegates on affairs of South Africa (C. 1399), February, 1876, p. 3.

conference in London, at which leading men connected with South Africa might discuss South African difficulties personally with the Secretary of State. In August, 1876, it was held, but had little of a representative character. The Prime Minister of the Cape, who was in London at the time, declined to attend; no delegate was present from the Transvaal Republic; and, though the President of the Orange Free State came to the meetings, he did so bound by a resolution of his Volksraad not to take part in a negotiation with respect to a confederation of the colonies and states of South Africa, by which the independence of the Orange Free State could be endangered¹. Only Natal was fully represented, by Sir Theophilus Shepstone and two unofficial members of the legislature. On the borders of Natal trouble was brewing, which threatened that colony in particular, though it menaced also the peace and security of all South Africa. The members of the conference deliberated on questions of common policy and interest, mainly affecting dealings with the native races: friendly discussion and interchange of views was the object of the meetings, and their result.

In the following December Lord Carnarvon sent out to South Africa the draft of a Bill for the Union under one government and under the British Crown of such of the South African colonies and states as might wish to avail themselves of its provisions; and in the spring of 1877 the Bill in an amended form was introduced into the House of Lords. Before the session ended, it passed through both houses of Parliament and became law: its passage through the House of Commons being rendered memorable by an outbreak of Irish obstruction and an all night sitting. The Act was in effect, as it was styled by its author, a *Permissive Confederation Act*, a law in outline, the details of which were

¹ Further correspondence relative to the affairs of South Africa (C. 1631), August, 1876, p. 47.

PART I. to be filled up afterwards at the free will of the South African communities. Machinery was provided, if they wished to avail themselves of it; if any two or more colonies or states in South Africa agreed to confederate, such confederation could under the law be carried out by the Crown by means of Order in Council, the period within which such powers could be exercised being, on Mr. Forster's suggestion, limited to five years. A federal Government and Legislature, consisting of two houses, was provided, Provincial Governments and Legislatures were created and defined, the powers of the Union Parliament and the powers of the Provincial Councils respectively were duly adjusted, on paper and in anticipation South Africa was laid out as a federal Dominion. The skeleton was carefully constructed, but the problem was still outstanding how to make the dry bones live. English Secretaries of State could give help and encouragement; they could remove technical obstacles and provide legislative facilities, but from South Africa alone could come the breath of life.

Appointment of Sir Bartle Frere to be Governor of the Cape.

In South Africa there was at least one man ready, and specially selected for the work. On March 31, 1877, Sir Bartle Frere had landed at the Cape. He had been chosen by Lord Carnarvon, in the previous October, as the statesman who seemed to him most capable of carrying his scheme of confederation into effect, and within two years, it was hoped, he would be 'the first Governor-general of the South African Dominion'.¹ He went out in harmony with the aims and the enthusiasm of his chief, hoping to crown by one great constructive effort the work of a bright and noble life. How the hopes were disappointed and the brightness dimmed will be told in the coming chapter, and in all the annals of South African history there is no more striking illustration of perverse fortune than the record of Sir Bartle Frere's

¹ Lord Carnarvon to Sir Bartle Frere, October, 1876. Martineau's *Life of Sir Bartle Frere*, vol. ii. pp. 161-2.

administration. With it we take up the tale of our own days. CH. VII.
He had but newly come to the Cape, when he learnt that the —◆—
Transvaal Republic had been annexed by Sir Theophilus
Shepstone; and, while the South Africa Bill, with all the
peaceful plans which it embodied, was still before the Impe-
rial Parliament, Members heard, some in amaze, a few in
dismay, most in ignorance of what it all implied, that a
territory nearly as large as the United Kingdom had been
added to the Queen's dominions.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE LAST TWENTY YEARS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

PART I. THE last twenty years in South Africa have been very full years, crowded with incident, with disasters and successes in war, with feats of engineering enterprise, with exploration and discovery, with finds of gold and building of towns. Take any interval of twenty years, in any land, in any century, and it will hardly be found to contain so many lasting changes, as have taken place in South Africa in the like space of time. Napoleon's wars revolutionised Europe, but, when they were over, Europe was nearer to what it had been before the wars began than is South Africa to-day to the South Africa of twenty years ago.

—♦—
*Events of
the last
twenty
years.*

There has been, during this period, a Kaffir war in the Transkei, a Zulu war, a Boer war, Sir Charles Warren's expedition into Bechuanaland, various minor disturbances in the Zulu country, in Basutoland, and elsewhere, wars with the Matabele, and Dr. Jameson's inroad into the South African Republic. The South African Republic has been annexed and retroceded. Two new British colonies have been acquired, Bechuanaland on the one side, now incorporated with the Cape Colony, Zululand on the other. The Cape Colony has been extended to the east, until it has absorbed the whole of the Kosa and Pondo country and has become conterminous with Natal. These years have seen the birth of a new Chartered Company, to whose enterprise it is due that the British Sphere now reaches up to and beyond the

Zambesi; they have seen that company's vigorous work and its strange adventures. British territory in Zululand has latterly been expanded, and definite British ownership or definite British protectorate now includes the eastern coast-line up to the Portuguese boundary. A new European power has gained a foothold in South Africa, and a German protectorate has been established over Damara and Namaqualand. Railways and telegraphs now run through lands which little more than twenty years ago were hardly known except to adventurous travellers. The gold-fields of the Transvaal, the richest gold-fields in the world, have been brought to light, and Johannesburg in their centre is at the present day a town of fully 100,000 inhabitants, whereas in 1877 the total white population of the whole South African Republic was estimated at 8,000 to 10,000. The beginning of a South African Customs Union has been made, Responsible Government has been given to Natal, everywhere there has been movement, widening, and growth. The rate of advance during the last twenty years of European colonisation in South Africa has been as fast as in the first twenty years it was slow. The trading-station period has passed out of remembrance, the Cape has been merged in South Africa, a continental dominion has come into existence, bringing with it new complications; while the old difficulties, the paucity of the European population and the want of adequate communication between this point and that of the interior, are fast disappearing. The changes which have taken and still are taking place have not been artificial changes, they have been the result of natural growth. The forces which have been at work elsewhere in the world, have been at work also in South Africa; and coming late into play in this part of the southern hemisphere, they have been for that reason all the stronger and all the more fruitful.

Fifty years ago—little more than twenty years ago—the country beyond the Vaal River was the borderland of South

CH. VIII.



*The
Transvaal
Republic*

PART I. African colonisation, the scene of the remotest European settlements. The settlers, if settlers the half nomad Boers could be called, were the most determined of the trekkers from the Cape Colony, the men who were most resolved to go away and to keep away from British rule. They went so far that their independence was assured, for the simple reason that the Government could not, even if it had wished to do so, follow them up. Thinly scattered through a very large area, they lived from the first under simple democratic forms of government, and, as may be supposed, in ordinary times the majority of the farmers did not trouble their heads very much about any government whatever. As a state, as a community, the Transvaal Republic was a failure. It had no organisation, little or no cohesion, and, as years went on, it threatened to fall to pieces. Its weakness was a danger to South Africa generally, its anarchy gave rise to scandal, for no effective control was exercised by the Boer Government over the doings of the broken men, such as are always to be found on the confines of barbarism. In and round this border territory, which has now become a central state on the South African map, the main acts in the drama of the last twenty years have taken place.

*The Boers
and the
Zulus.*

The Boers were constantly on the verge of war, if not actually fighting, with their coloured neighbours. There was bad blood between them and the Zulu King Cetewayo; and, but for the influence of the Natal Government, there would have been open warfare. The chief causes of the ill feeling were twofold. First and foremost, there was a land dispute of long standing, the disputed territory being to the east of the Blood River, on the north-western side of Zululand, where it touched the extreme south-east of the Transvaal. Here the Dutchmen had encroached on ground which the Zulus claimed to be an integral part of their territory, and in May 1875, the acting President of the Republic had gone so far as to issue a proclamation formally annexing

the land. In the second place, irritation was caused by Boer intrigues with the Swazi tribes who lived to the north of Zululand. The Zulu King claimed to be the Swazis' overlord, whereas the Transvaal Republic was by way of claiming the rights of protectorate, if not of actual sovereignty, over Swaziland. CH. VIII.

Their main difficulties were with Cetewayo, but on all sides the Boers made themselves enemies. They asserted dominion over a native potentate named Sekukuni, whose location was near the Lydenburg gold-fields on the northern frontier of the republic, and a commando was sent against him in 1876 with disastrous results. On the western side of the Transvaal complaints of Boer aggression and wrongdoing came from Bechuanaland. Khama, King of the far off Bamangwato, sent, in fear of a Dutch invasion, to ask for the protection of the Queen. 'There are three things,' he wrote, 'which distress me very much, war, selling people, and drink. All these I shall find in the Boers, and it is these things which destroy people to make an end of them in the country¹.' Even from the Matabele Chief Lobengula there came a message to the High Commissioner, enclosing a copy of a warning letter which he had addressed to the President of the Transvaal Republic on hearing that a trek from the Transvaal to Matabeleland was in contemplation.

By civilised men, most of all by philanthropists, the Transvaal Boers at this time were held in low estimation. When their independence was guaranteed by the Sand River Treaty, a clause was inserted in the convention prohibiting slavery. 'It is agreed that no slavery is or shall be permitted or practised in the country to the north of the Vaal River by the emigrant farmers.' The words were clear enough; no loophole was left for black apprenticeship

¹ Correspondence respecting the war between the Transvaal Republic and neighbouring native tribes. C. 1748. 1877, p. 251.

PART I. or servitude of any kind; yet there was ample evidence to prove that in one form or another slavery was rife in the state. As the war with Sekukuni went on, sickening stories were circulated, and could not be disbelieved, of outrages and atrocities committed by white men, of women slaughtered, of prisoners massacred in cold blood, until in his disgust the High Commissioner, Sir Henry Barkly, wrote of 'the scenes of injustice, cruelty, and rapine, which abundant evidence is every day forthcoming to prove, have rarely ceased to disgrace the republics beyond the Vaal ever since they first sprang into existence¹.'

The Boer war with Sekukuni.

The danger caused by it to South Africa generally.

The war with Sekukuni began about June 1876, and in August intelligence was received in the Cape Colony and Natal that the Boer attack, though directed by the President in person, had been repulsed and that the commando had dispersed. The fighting subsequently dragged on, conducted on the Boer side mainly by a gang of adventurers or, as the South African press styled them, Filibusters, prominent among whom was an ex-Prussian officer named Von Schlickmann. It was against the doings of this band of scoundrels that the High Commissioner and the Secretary of State sent repeated protests and remonstrances, but with little or no effect. It was not only a question of humanity. The Boers by their reckless proceedings were compromising all the other European communities in South Africa. So much Lord Carnarvon saw and said plainly, and he saw too that 'the safety and prosperity of the Republic would be best assured by its union with the British Colonies, when no occasion for local wars would continue to exist².' That the natives could as a rule discern between the English and the Boers, between the dealings of a stable colonial government and the lawlessness of a bankrupt republic, was clear

¹ To Lord Carnarvon, Dec. 18, 1876. Further correspondence respecting the war between the Transvaal Republic and neighbouring native tribes. C. 1776. 1877, p. 12.

² C. 1748. 1877, p. 103.

enough; but the longer war and raiding went on, the greater likelihood there was that the sins of one section of the white men in South Africa would be visited upon the whole European population. There was evidence that the Swazis had joined hands with the Boers, under the impression that they were really co-operating with the Government of Natal; while Cetewayo, who was face to face with Natal on one border and with the Transvaal on another, and in whose mind no confusion could exist, was storing up a grudge against the Colony because it restrained him from attacking the Republic. In the Republic itself there were many Europeans, who felt the full effects of the prevailing anarchy. Especially in the Lydenburg gold-fields, near the scene of fighting, were men, women, and children, British subjects, living day by day in fear of their lives. The Government, if government it could be called, under which they lived, was powerless to protect them; and they appealed in urgent terms for the protection which the Queen's Government alone could give.

Such were the difficulties which Lord Carnarvon, the Secretary of State, was called upon to solve. He had by his side at the time a man who, after more than forty years of public life in South Africa, was perhaps unrivalled in his knowledge of native questions, and whose name was a household word in Zululand, Sir Theophilus Shepstone. Holding the position of Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal, he had come to London in 1876 as one of the representatives of that Colony at the South African Conference, and in the autumn of the year he was sent out by Lord Carnarvon, as a Special Commissioner 'to inquire respecting certain disturbances which have taken place in the territories adjoining the Colony of Natal,' in plain words, to visit the Transvaal Republic, and make inquiry into its condition and into the causes, the circumstances, and the results of the war. But something more than inquiry was contem-

*Lord
Carnarvon
and Sir
Theophilus
Shepstone.*

*Shepstone's
mission
to the
Transvaal.*

1. plated. The Queen's Commission¹ empowered him, if he thought that the circumstances required such a course to be taken, to annex to the British dominions all or part of the territories which formed the scene of his inquiry, and to take over the administration, provided he was satisfied that a sufficient number of the inhabitants desired to become British subjects.

In the closing days of December he set out from Pietermaritzburg, with a staff of seven or eight military officers, and escorted by twenty-five men of the Natal mounted police: and on January 22, 1877, he entered Pretoria amid the enthusiastic cheers of the residents. For between two and three months after his arrival he held his hand, taking stock of the situation, and becoming day by day more convinced that nothing short of British sovereignty could save the State from utter ruin. Formal and informal conferences took place: the opinions of all classes were as far as possible ascertained: and the longer the inquiry lasted, the more hopeless seemed the outlook under existing conditions.

*President
Burgers
and the
Volksraad.*

President Burgers called a special meeting of the Volksraad, he laid before them a scheme for a revised constitution, and also Lord Carnarvon's Confederation Bill. He delivered speeches to the assembled councillors after the manner of the speeches in Thucydides. 'Anarchy is a worse oppression than any foreign power can be thought, and cannot be borne long by any nation. A nation does not stand or fall with its government or its charter but with its people. No state can exist without faithful subjects.' And again, 'If the people remained independent and yet lost their honour, they lost everything, but though they lost their independence, yet if they retained their honour, they would remain a free people'. Amid these classic platitudes he seemed to indicate that the Volksraad must choose between radical reform of

¹ Dated Oct. 5, 1876. C. 1776. 1877, pp. 1, 2.

² C. 1776. 1877, pp. 119, 121.

their government and confederation under the British flag. C₁ They consented to a reform and to measures for enforcing collection of taxes, and dispersed to their homes, in difficulties because the treasury was empty and there was no money to pay their travelling expenses.

The President was a shrewd man, and knew that no constitutional reform could cure the evils of the State. Shepstone had known it from the first, and had said plainly that the only effective remedy was the Government of the Queen. The country was absolutely bankrupt. Trade was at a stand-still. The white men were divided into factions, aggravated by the near prospect of a contest for the post of President. The natives in and out of the Republic were watching their opportunity, and Cetewayo in particular had massed his Zulu forces with the avowed intention of driving the Dutchmen south of the Vaal.

Longer delay seemed but to invite a crisis, and on April 12, 1877, in the Church Square at Pretoria, two proclamations were read, each signed by Shepstone; the first declaring that the Transvaal Republic had become British territory, the second notifying that Shepstone himself had taken over the administration of the Government. The former proclamation contained a clause that 'the Transvaal will remain a separate government with its own laws and legislature, and that it is the wish of Her Most Gracious Majesty that it shall enjoy the fullest legislative privileges compatible with the circumstances of the country and the intelligence of its people ¹.' President Burgers made a formal protest against the annexation, and retired to the Cape Colony on a pension. His Executive Council also protested against what they designated an 'act of violence,' and sent their Vice-President Paul Kruger ² and their Attorney-general as delegates to England to plead their cause. The

Annexation of the Transvaal. Shepstone's proclamations.

¹ C. 1776. 1877, p. 159.

² Now President of the South African Republic.

PART I. delegates came to London in July 1877, they laid their case before Lord Carnarvon, who declined to reconsider in any way the annexation of the country, but promised that under British sovereignty the wishes and the interests of the Dutch population should be fully consulted: and they left expressing satisfaction at the courteous manner in which they had been received, and at the pledges which the Secretary of State had given to promote the happiness and prosperity of their fellow countrymen in the Transvaal.

Historical importance of the annexation of the Transvaal. The annexation of the Transvaal Republic, in the year 1877, is a conspicuous landmark in the history of South Africa. It was followed by a long series of stormy events, which, like the French Revolution, gave birth to a new era, but at the time clouded men's judgments, called forth passion and prejudice, and caused a recital of what appeared to be general principles to be substituted for sober reasoning and knowledge of facts. Into the controversies which then arose it would be beyond the scope of this book and outside the province of the writer to enter. It is of far greater and more permanent interest to record what actually happened, and to try to determine what were the causes at work, and what has been the net outcome to European colonisation in South Africa.

British intervention between Boers and natives was made inevitable by antecedent circumstances. The Proclamation of British sovereignty over the Transvaal Republic, as an act of wisdom or unwisdom, has mainly been judged in the light of what came afterwards. It ought to be judged rather in the light of what had gone before. It was not an isolated act, it was one link in a chain of events. Less than half a century before, South Africa had been one, and the Boers had all been British subjects. The Boer Republics were a latter day product. Their independence was not a time-honoured growth, whose roots were deep down in the past. Nor was the independence wholly unconditional. It was conditioned at any rate by the provision against slavery. It was known to all the world, when

the world thought about it at all, it was well known to all CH. VIII.
South Africa, most of all to the native races in South Africa, —♦—
that throughout the great peninsula the ultimate responsibility rested with England.

Non-intervention is a sound principle, but it is subordinate to the dictates of humanity and common sense. A strong power, which can enforce order and prevent loss of life, must sooner or later intervene to prevent outrage and bloodshed on its borders. It is obliged to do so, not merely in its own interests but by the common demand of mankind. No nation can sit still and watch its near and weaker neighbours destroying one another, when it is a patent fact that its intervention would be effectual. If England had never had any connexion with either Boers or natives, it would have been a moral impossibility for her, being the guardian of the Cape Colony and Natal, to remain a mere spectator of strife. But, as a matter of fact, she had, by force of circumstances and by her own action in the past, incurred special responsibility, and her interests were vitally affected. The white men who were in trouble and were causing trouble were children of the Cape Colony, sharing traditions, race, language, and religion, but lately severed from the mother state. They were no aliens in the land, but an integral part of its white population. The evil they did, or the evil they suffered, was of common concern to South Africa. They had renounced allegiance, they could not claim protection, but none the less, in a matter of life and death, none could doubt that they must be protected. And, if their ultimate security lay in the strength of the sovereign power in South Africa, that power was equally bound to safeguard their native adversaries from aggression and misrule. It was a far greater stretch of authority to try to crush out the slave-trade on foreign and distant shores than to protect the native tribes, who lived hard by British colonies, and who, rightly or wrongly, had learnt to heed British advice and in most cases

PART I. to submit to British commands¹. Duty pointed to intervention, policy and interest coincided with duty. It was Lord Carnarvon's great merit to see how nearly linked together were all South African questions and all South African difficulties, and especially how easily a local war might develop into a great uprising of the black man against the white. Sekukuni was countenanced and encouraged by Cetewayo. The Zulus heard of and magnified the doings of the Kaffirs in the Transkei. The longer disturbances went on, the greater tendency there was in native minds not to discriminate between this white man and that, to visit on the English the evil done by the Boers, to involve even missionary upholders of the black man's cause in one common ruin. There was too a growing possibility that if England remained inactive, some other European power might intervene, and by creating new claims and new interests make confusion in South Africa worse confounded. That some action on the part of England, beyond unheeded protests, was inevitable cannot be doubted, but whether what was done was the only practicable alternative, whether it was done at the right moment and in the right way, will always be matter of dispute. Disasters subsequently befell the English arms; they followed the annexation of the Transvaal, though they were by no means its necessary consequence; and they coloured and will to all times colour the views which have been formed on the subject.

*Later
South
African
history
as been
strongly*

The history of a colony or of a group of colonies is a two-fold history, formed at any given time not only by the events which take place and the state of feeling which arises on the spot, but also by the events which take place and the state of

¹ On the eve of the Zulu war, on September 30, 1878, Sir Henry Bulwer, Lieutenant-governor of Natal, wrote: The English Government 'has long since come to be looked up to by all the Kaffir tribes inhabiting the countries beyond our border, and as far as the Zambesi, as the paramount European power in the country, and as a paternal friendly government to be honoured and conciliated.' C. 2222. 1879, p. 35.

feeling which arises at the same time in the mother country. CH. VIII.
It is this double element of the warp and the woof, this ——— combination of two not always, not usually harmonious strains, which makes colonial history so often discordant, uneven, difficult to comprehend. The history of South Africa would have been different, if local circumstances had been other than they were; but it would have been different too, if those circumstances had not been contemporaneous with certain wholly unconnected events in Europe and with special phases of English public opinion. It was a time when party feeling ran unusually high. It was a time when England was coming within measurable distance of a great European war. It was a time when Imperialism was a watchword to one half of England, and a bugbear to the other. It was a time, therefore, when every incident in any British possession was judged not on its own merits but in the light of a policy with which it had no necessary connexion whatever. In important points of detail too English politics at the moment specially affected South African matters. Disagreement with his colleagues on the Eastern question led in 1878 to the resignation of Lord Carnarvon, who of leading statesmen in England had most nearly grasped the South African problem. Imminent danger of a great war made it difficult to reinforce the English garrison in South Africa at a time when strength and the appearance of strength was specially needed. The time when votes of credit were being taken for possible contingencies in the East, was not a favourable time for financing the penniless administration of the Transvaal. It seemed as if the stars in their courses were fighting against any solution of South African difficulties; and, when the tale of unforeseen military reverses was brought over the seas, the English public, which had heard of the Cape and Natal and dimly heard of the Transvaal, suddenly and irritably awoke to a half knowledge rather more dangerous than absolute ignorance.

PART I.

—♦—
The annexation of the Transvaal destroyed the balance of power in South Africa.

But, confining attention to what actually happened in South Africa, apart from the feeling which was aroused outside, let us ask what was the immediate effect produced on the English position by taking over the Transvaal. It was well summed up by Sir Henry Bulwer, then Lieutenant-governor of Natal, in the following words, written in September, 1878, shortly before the outbreak of the Zulu war. Pointing out that there had previously been a balance of power, with the English Government holding the scales, he wrote: 'The annexation of the Transvaal last year has destroyed the conditions which created the balance to which I have referred. It has substituted one power for two powers, one government for two governments, in all this portion of South Africa, and it has brought English authority into direct contact with native races to the north, to whom it was previously known only from a distance. More especially, and more seriously, it has affected our relations with the Zulu king and people, who look with great suspicion upon the new state of things¹.' For good or for evil the conditions were vitally changed, the Boer Republic was eliminated, and the English no longer held the balance between Dutchmen and natives, but for peace or war directly faced the Zulus.

Cetewayo.

On the one side the central figure was the Zulu king, with a large standing army hard to hold, ruling as a tyrant, dependant, like other tyrants, upon the fear which he inspired, irritated for years past by Boer dealings, and with his friendship to the English clouded by suspicion, now that the English had taken the place of the Dutch. He could no longer go to war in any direction without coming into collision with the English or those whom the English protected. In his mind there grew up the idea that he was being surrounded like a wild beast in its lair, and like a wild beast he prepared for the last fight. On the other side the central figure was

¹ From the minute quoted above. C. 2222. 1879, p. 36.

the High Commissioner, Sir Bartle Frere. Frere had no voice in the annexation of the Transvaal. He landed at the Cape on March 31, 1877, and the formal act of annexation took place twelve days subsequently, before he had time even to communicate with Shepstone. In so far, then, as the annexation may be held to have been the cause of subsequent disasters, to that extent he was in no way responsible. Trained in the school of Anglo-Indian statesmen and administrators, Frere, before coming to Africa, had dealt with men and things on a large scale. He had taken part, and no small part, in the crisis of the Indian Mutiny; he had lived his life in stirring scenes, where great interests were involved, and where, in the time of trouble, the men on the spot were forced to decide and act without waiting for counsel and guidance from home. When he went, to the Cape, he went to a land not yet connected with England by telegraphic cable, and he reached it at the moment when a step had been taken which beyond question quickened the current of events, and made them flow in a new channel. He went out specially selected to bring peace and make a union, he found friction and war; he took his own line, as he had taken it before; and, if there were errors in his judgment on points of detail, as may have been; if he incurred censure and obloquy, and paid the penalty of having been strong; at least his policy was the policy of the coming time; he sketched out in advance the South Africa that should be; he believed and he proclaimed his belief in the good to be done by British rule, and his whole life was one long tribute to the honour of the British name.

The annexation of the Transvaal left the question of the boundary between that country and Zululand still outstanding; but, towards the end of 1877, Cetewayo, on the invitation of the Lieutenant-governor of Natal, agreed to submit it to arbitration. Three Commissioners were appointed to report, and reported in the summer of 1878. They summed up

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Sir Bartle Frere.

The Zulu boundary question.

PART I.



*Growing
enmity of
the Zulus.*

greatly in favour of the Zulus, and the final award was left in the hands of Sir Bartle Frere as High Commissioner. Meanwhile the Zulu king was at no pains to conceal his growing unfriendliness to the white men. The missionaries left Zululand for fear of their lives, and many of their converts were killed. Outside Zululand, in Transvaal territory, the German settlers at Luneberg were given notice to quit. A party of Zulus crossed into Natal, and carried off two native refugees to the slaughter; and, over and above this or that act of insolence and provocation, there was evidence of Zulu intrigues far beyond the borders of their own land. Peace, safety of hearth and home, depended on the caprice of a truculent savage. It was impossible that such conditions could last.

*Frere's
award and
ulti-
matum.*

On December 11, 1878, the High Commissioner's award on the land dispute was communicated to Cetewayo's messengers on the banks of the Tugela River. A pleasing communication it was to the Zulus, for it largely recognised their claims. Less pleasing was a further message which accompanied it. The Zulu king was required to make good, by fine or surrender, the outrages which his people had committed, to disband his army and give his celibate soldiers freedom to marry, to allow his subjects fair trial when accused, to receive back and protect the missionaries and their followers, and to accept a British Resident in his land. He had broken the promises made at the time of his coronation, his system was oppressive to his subjects and a menace to his neighbours. It was time that a change should be made. 'So will it be well with the Zulu people.' The words of the ultimatum were very plain and decisive¹, they were addressed as much to the Zulu people as to the Zulu king, and an answer was required within thirty days. No

¹ The ultimatum will be found at pp. 201-9 of C. 2222. It was signed by Sir Henry Bulwer as Lieutenant-governor of Natal, but embodied 'the words of Her Majesty's High Commissioner.'

answer was sent, and to enforce the demands a British force CH. VIII.
entered Zululand.

On January 10 and 11 the campaign began. The British Commander, Lord Chelmsford, had no overwhelming force at his back; but, wishing to cover the Natal frontier as far as possible and to prevent a Zulu inroad into the colony, he laid his plans to march into Zululand with troops converging from three different points. Nearest the sea, the right column under Colonel Pearson crossed the lower Tugela and advanced to the mission station of Eshowe. On the side of the Transvaal was the left column under Colonel Evelyn Wood. The main line of advance was in the centre, where the Buffalo River was crossed at the ford known as Rorke's Drift.

About ten miles due east of Rorke's Drift, on the line of march to the king's kraal at Ulundi, is the solitary hill of Isandhlwana, steep and precipitous on three sides out of the four. Here, on January 20, the centre column encamped, the camp being on the south side of the hill. At daybreak on January 22, about half the troops, commanded by the General in person, moved out some miles away to support a reconnoitring party, and late in the day they heard that behind them the camp had been taken. Marching back, they reached it after dark and found it desolate. The forces left to guard it had, as it afterwards appeared, not remained, in accordance with instructions, strictly on the defensive; but, moving out in counter attack, when threatened by the Zulus, had been cut off in the open, encircled by many thousands, and massacred almost to a man. Eight hundred white soldiers fell on this memorable day, and nearly five hundred natives; and in the darkness, under the grim hill, the returning column halted amid the litter of the plundered camp and the bodies of the slain.

While they were resting, expectant of attack, the men who held the post at Rorke's Drift were fighting for their

PART I. lives. The post was on the Natal bank of the Buffalo River, over which a pontoon bridge had been thrown, and it included a hospital where were between thirty and forty sick men. The sound men of the garrison numbered ninety-six, under command of Lieutenants Chard and Bromhead. Fresh from their victory at Isandhlwana, some three thousand Zulus later in the same day pushed on to the Drift, crossed the river, and attacked the post in most determined fashion. From half-past four in the afternoon till four o'clock the next morning fighting went on. The burning hospital was defended room by room, and behind redoubts of mealy bags and biscuit boxes the Englishmen stubbornly held their own. About dawn the Zulus drew off, but a little later were threatening a fresh attack, when Lord Chelmsford's column came in sight, having marched on from Isandhlwana before daybreak.

*Effect on
public
feeling in
England
of the
disaster
at Isan-
dlwana.*

A loss of eight hundred lives is a heavy loss in any warfare. In proportion to the number of white troops in South Africa it was heavy indeed. Occurring at the very outset of the campaign, the disaster in its terrible completeness was more than usually dramatic; and, by contrast, the brilliant defence at Rorke's Drift tended to make the events of January 22 exceptionally striking to the imagination. There was then no telegraph station nearer to South Africa than the Cape Verde islands, and a fortnight passed before the news reached England. It came at last, reinforcements were sent, and in due course the Zulu war was successfully ended; but the men who were concerned in the war, the policy which it embodied, and the incidents which it contained, were all clouded by the shadow cast by Isandhlwana Hill.

*Panic in
Natal.*

In Natal, where but lately there had been brightness and more than confidence, there was now mourning and panic. Many colonists had fallen, and a Zulu invasion was feared. Pietermaritzburg was placed in a state of defence, and to

Sir Bartle Frere the anxious days of the Indian Mutiny were forcibly recalled. Yet of the final issue there could be no doubt, and even at the moment there were sure grounds for encouragement. The numbers of the Zulus were by no means unlimited, and already many of their finest warriors had fallen. Pearson's column had defeated the savages who tried to check its advance, and was safely entrenched at Eshowe. Wood was holding his own on the Transvaal frontier. Before long reinforcements began to come in, from the Cape Colony, from St. Helena, from Ceylon, and on March 17, from England. On April 2, Lord Chelmsford won a battle at Gingihlovo, and relieved the garrison at Eshowe. A few days previously Wood, after a dangerous engagement at the Hlobane mountain, on March 29 repulsed a powerful Zulu force from his camp at Kambula, inflicting upon them heavy loss and turning the balance of the campaign. In June a second general advance into Zululand was made, and on July 4, the main force under Lord Chelmsford, moving on Ulundi in hollow square, gained a complete victory and practically finished the war. Before the end of August Cetewayo was hunted down in his hiding place, and sent into captivity in the Cape Colony, and the military power of the Zulus was broken for ever.

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*Relief of
the garri-
son at
Eshowe.*

*The fight
at Kam-
bula.*

*Battle of
Ulundi
and end of
the war.*

The Zulu war was an unlucky war. In its later stage, on June 1, an untoward incident occurred, the death of the Prince Imperial. He had gone out to South Africa to see service in the active field, and when reconnoitring with a small party was cut off and killed. His life, like other lives, paid forfeit in the game of war; but the public argued that his safety had been in British keeping, their sympathy went out to the widowed Empress with her last hope gone: again the touch of tragedy was felt, and people longed for some one to blame.

*Death
of the
Prince
Imperial.*

'The Zulu war was in its immediate origin a Transvaal

PART I.



*Attitude
of the
Boers
at the
time of
the Zulu
war.*

quarrel¹, but the English who were fighting the Dutchmen's battle received little help from them. The staunch old burgher Piet Uys, whose father and brother had fallen many years ago at the hands of Dingaan's warriors, came with his sons to the war, joined Evelyn Wood's force, and was killed at the Hlobane Hill; but few of his countrymen followed his example. The Boers, who were opposed to British rule, saw in the disasters in Zululand an opportunity for regaining their independence, and many who were well content to be British subjects were deterred from giving active aid by fear of their noisier brethren. Writing from Standerton in the Transvaal on April 4, 1879, Sir Bartle Frere reported 'All accounts from Pretoria represent that the great body of the Boer population is still under the belief that the Zulus are more than a match for us, that our difficulties in Europe and Asia are more than we can surmount, and that the present is a favourable opportunity for demanding their independence².' In 1878, before the war began, a second Boer deputation had gone to England and negotiated with Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, the new Secretary of State. They were informed in the plainest terms that the withdrawal of British sovereignty from the Transvaal was out of the question, but were given promise of some form of provincial self-government, under which their country would retain its individuality, while linked to the neighbouring colonies by the bond of federation³.

¹ Article by Sir Bartle Frere in the 'Nineteenth Century,' February, 1881.

² Similarly Sir T. Shepstone wrote to Sir Bartle Frere: 'It is represented to the ignorant and unthinking mass that now that Her Majesty's troops are beaten and your Excellency's hands full is the time for the Boers to take up arms and fight for their independence.' C. 2260. 1879, p. 76.

³ Sir M. Hicks-Beach's letter to the delegates dated September 16, 1878, ran as follows: 'It is the object of Her Majesty's Government that the Transvaal should remain an integral and separate state, united with the neighbouring colonies, for purposes which are common to all, into a South African Confederation, the centre of which would be the

A similar pledge had been contained in Shepstone's initial proclamation¹, but many months had passed and no step had as yet been taken to give the country a constitution. Returning at the end of 1878, the delegates had an interview at Pietermaritzburg with the High Commissioner, and at length, in the following April, Sir Bartle Frere found time to visit the Transvaal. The Isandhlwana disaster had happened in the meantime, inspiring the malcontents with confidence, and Shepstone had been succeeded as Administrator by Colonel Lanyon. A few miles from Pretoria the Boers held a mass meeting, to receive their delegates' report on their late visit to England; and there in their camp, and subsequently at a further meeting at Erasmus Farm, Frere heard their representations and patiently argued the case. He held out no hope that what had been done would be undone, or that British sovereignty would be withdrawn, but neither did he succeed in persuading the Boers to accept the accomplished fact and cease to demand their independence. 'Your Majesty cannot desire to rule over unwilling subjects,' so ran their petition to the Queen which Frere sent home, 'unwilling subjects but faithful neighbours we will be. We beseech you, put an end to this unbearable state of things, and charge your High Commissioner in South Africa to give us back our State².' The Boer leaders claimed to represent the people. When their followers gathered in the camp of protest, they were obviously strong in numbers, and they challenged a *plébiscite* on the subject of the annexation. Yet, beyond all question, there were many who were well satisfied with British rule, and not a few whose patriotism was the result of intimidation. It was the delay in giving a liberal constitution, and the

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*Sir Bartle
Frere
in the
Transvaal.*

*Boer
protests
against
the an-
nexation.*

Cape Colony, but possessing a constitution securing, to the utmost practicable extent, its individuality and powers of self-government under the sovereignty of the Queen.' C. 2220. 1879, p. 366.

¹ See above, p. 275.

² April 16, 1879. C. 2367. 1879, p. 99.

PART I. uncertainty that what had been done would be upheld, that gave strength to the Boer cause. If the Dutchmen had been sure that what they desired would not come to pass, they might have ceased to long for it; if, while the rest and security brought by annexation was still sweet in the minds of many, they had been given their Volksraad and such powers as a self-governing colony enjoys, they might in no long time have learnt to prefer a British Colony to a Boer Republic. But months went on, and years, bitterness grew and uncertainty, and on their visits to England the Boer delegates learnt that here a plea for liberty will always find support, and that one political party has not been slow to reverse the acts of the other. They reasoned too from South African history, with its precedents for giving back; and the more High Commissioners and Secretaries of State protested that such a thing was impossible, the more convinced they became of its possibility. 'I find,' wrote Frere in 1879, 'that this idea that the English will give up the Transvaal, as it formerly did the Orange Free State, has been industriously propagated, and has taken a great hold on the minds of the well-disposed Boers, and is one main cause of their reluctance to support the Government actively. They argue that what was done before may be done again¹.' It was a bad day when the English began going back in South Africa.

*Sir Garnet
Wolseley
and the
Boers.*

Before Frere left Pretoria in May, 1879, he had formed his conclusions as to the future government of the Transvaal under the British flag²; but no opportunity was given him to carry out reforms, for, immediately after his visit, Sir Garnet Wolseley took over civil and military command in South Eastern Africa³. Wolseley reached Capetown at

¹ C. 2367. 1879, p. 19.

² They are given in his article in the 'Nineteenth Century' of February, 1881, quoted in Mr. Martineau's *Life of Sir Bartle Frere*, p. 309, note.

³ Sir Garnet Wolseley's commissions, dated May 28, 1879, appointed

the end of June, and a few days later, while the surf forbade his landing on the Zululand coast, the battle of Ulundi was fought and won. At the end of September he came to Pretoria, and shortly afterwards a Crown Colony constitution was given to the Transvaal. But a nominated Executive Council and Legislative Assembly was not what the Boers wanted. They looked for their republican Volksraad; and at a mass meeting, held towards the end of 1879, they repeated their declaration that they would not be subjects of the Queen. The Zulu war was over, and Cetewayo a prisoner. Sekukuni, whose successes against the Boer levies had brought about the downfall of the republic, was, in a few days at the end of November, skilfully overmastered by a sufficient British force with Swazi allies, his stronghold taken, his caves cleared, and himself sent into captivity. 'As you have beaten me,' he said to his captors, 'you have conquered everything. I was the only chief in the country, there is no other black chief will raise an assegai against you now¹.' No native difficulty was for the time left outstanding, which, though in some sense an opportunity to the Dutchmen, might well have made British protection of value even to malcontent Boers, and, on the principle that blood is thicker than water, have conciliated white man to white man by joint opposition to black. The field was clear for resistance to the policy of the British Government, and the Boer leaders took advantage of the situation. Two of them were arrested on charges of high treason, but were not brought to trial; two others in May, 1880, visited the Cape Colony to enlist the sympathies of the Cape Dutch, urging them to take no steps

CH. VIII.

A Crown Colony constitution given to the Transvaal.

Defeat of Sekukuni.

Boer intrigues with the Cape Dutch.

him Governor of Natal, Governor of the Transvaal, and Special High Commissioner for the territories of South Eastern Africa to the North and East of the Transvaal and Natal. The sphere of Sir Bartle Frere's High Commissionership was to this extent curtailed.

¹ C. 2505. 1880, p. 42. Sekukuni stated also that it was on the advice of the Boers that he had resisted the English.

PART I. towards federation as long as the alleged wrongs of the Transvaal remained unredressed.

*Change of
govern-
ment in
England.*

In the preceding month of April a general election had taken place in England, and Mr. Gladstone had been returned to power by a large majority. His sympathetic utterances towards 'the Boers, made in the Midlothian speeches, coupled with the support which the Boer cause had received from some of his prominent followers, gave the republicans ground for hope. Over and over again they had been officially told that the act of annexation could not be reversed, that, as long as the sun shone in the heaven or the Vaal River flowed down from the mountains to the sea, British rule over the territory would be maintained. In March once more a message had come from Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, and had been gazetted by Sir Garnet Wolseley, that the Queen's Government could not entertain any proposal for the withdrawal of her sovereignty. Yet with reason, as after events proved, the shrewd Dutchmen, remembering what had gone before in South Africa, judged that their liberties might yet be restored. When they learnt that the new ministers intended to uphold their predecessors' policy, their disappointment was deep. For a few months there was a lull before the storm, and then came open war.

*Declara-
tion of
Boer Inde-
pendence.*

On December 16, 1880, being the anniversary of the memorable defeat of Dingaan the Zulu by the Dutch trek-
kers in Natal¹, a proclamation was issued at Heidelberg in the south of the Transvaal, declaring the republic to be re-established, under the provisional leadership of a triumvirate, Messrs. Kruger, Pretorius, and Joubert. In moderate terms the leaders communicated a copy of the proclamation to the English administrator at Pretoria, declaring that they had no desire to spill blood, that they would take up arms only in self-defence, and that, if driven to fight, they would fight

¹ See above, p. 197.

'with the deepest reverence for Her Majesty the Queen of England and her flag¹.' Yet they lost no time in pressing on the war. CH. VIII.

Few in all, the English troops in the Transvaal were widely dispersed on garrison duty, holding one and another of the little country towns or villages. To concentrate the forces and strengthen the garrison at the seat of government, instructions had been sent for a detachment to march into Pretoria from Lydenburg, some 150 miles to the north-east. When within forty miles of Pretoria, on December 20, marching without due circumspection, the party was stopped by a much stronger Boer force near a stream named Bronker's Spruit. Joubert, the Boer commander, sent a flag of truce forbidding further advance, and at the same time his troops closed in. The summons to halt was rejected, and immediately, from rising ground behind a cover of thorn trees, the Dutchmen at short range poured in a deadly fire upon the straggling line of march. The English numbered over 260 in all, most of them soldiers of the 94th regiment. In less than a quarter of an hour 157 were killed or wounded, the remainder perforce surrendered, and in Puritan-wise the Boers set down their cheaply won success to the help of the God of their fathers. *Outbreak of war.*

Sir George Colley had been appointed in the spring of 1880 to succeed Sir Garnet Wolseley, and in July he arrived at Natal. An officer of high reputation, with African and Indian experience, brave and chivalrous, he was prone, like other English officers in South Africa, to underrate the power of resistance by natives or Boers to the English army. He had, it is true, some grounds for confidence. Before the crisis actually occurred, it was a matter of uncertainty how many Boers would be prepared actually to take up arms, and tried soldiers were slow to *Fight at Bronker's Spruit.*

¹ C. 2866. 1881, p. 16.

PART I. believe that even a large number would stand their ground when faced by disciplined troops. It was but a very short time since that, in the campaign against Sekukuni, the Transvaal levies had miserably failed; and, having held aloof in the Zulu war, the large majority had given no clue to their fighting qualities. Yet they were well known to be expert marksmen, and fighting on ground of their own choosing, not in the open in battle array, but disposed in loose order behind trees or rocks, they were in truth more formidable antagonists than the same number of regular soldiers. The English commander had a difficult task. Of the small English force upon the spot a considerable proportion was locked up in the beleaguered garrisons at Pretoria, at Potchefstroom, Standerton, Wakkerstroom, and other places; and, when the war broke out, the troops which were immediately available numbered little more than 1,000 men. But a greater difficulty even than the want of soldiers was the public feeling which it was his duty to conciliate. At home there was a government deeply pledged against war and aggression in any form, the avowed friends of the oppressed or of those who seemed to be oppressed. The image, which took form in men's minds, of the might of England ranged against a handful of patriots fighting for their liberties, was distasteful to many liberty-loving Englishmen, and not a few had long since convinced themselves of the righteousness of the Boer cause. The Boers themselves either defined or confused the issue by protesting that they fought not against the Queen or the people of England, but rather against the Queen's officers who had prevented the facts from being known; they would pay all honour to the British Crown, they would co-operate with the British Government, only let them receive back their independence which had been filched from them under false pretences. A strong and growing sympathy with their contention sprang up among the Dutch population in South


*Difficulties
of his
position.
Smallness
of his
forces.*

*Feeling in
England
and South
Africa.*

Africa; they were men who had been misunderstood, what they asked was reasonable, their prayer should be granted. Under these conditions it was Colley's aim to limit the war as far as possible. To enlist natives against white men was out of the question; and no help was sought from the loyal colonists of Natal, lest the feeling between the two white races in South Africa might be further embittered. What was most to be desired was some initial success, which would suffice to disperse the Boer encampment and relieve the besieged towns. Then a campaign with all its misery and loss of life might be avoided, and the outbreak die away in the conviction that further fighting would be useless. It was in the strong hope of sparing Boers and English alike that Sir George Colley entered on the campaign, and the disasters which followed, if partly ascribed to over-confidence and errors of judgment, should also be in justice set down to humanity and kindly feeling.

The Boers' headquarters were at Heidelberg, the scene of the war was the southernmost district of the Transvaal and the borderland between that territory and Natal. At its northern extremity, the colony of Natal tapers almost to a point, jutting out between the Orange Free State on the west, the Transvaal on the east. On the west the Drakensberg range lines the frontier, on the east is the valley of the Buffalo River. The railway from Durban to Johannesburg and Pretoria now runs the whole length of this narrowing strip of colonial territory, leaving the colony for the republic just beyond the border township of Charlestown. In 1881 the northernmost town in Natal was Newcastle, which is between thirty and forty miles south of Charlestown. At the time of the Boer war three roads led from Newcastle into the Transvaal, a right hand road to Utrecht, a centre road to Wakkerstroom, and a third road, rather more to the left, direct to Standerton. This last road is traversed by the valley of the Ingogo River,

*Scene of
the Boer
war.*

PART I.  a tributary of the Buffalo, and, about twenty-five miles north of Newcastle, crosses the Drakensberg range by a pass known as Lang's Nek, between 4,000 and 5,000 feet above the level of the sea. On the eastern side of the pass is the deep gorge of the Buffalo River, on the west is a rough semicircle of hills, culminating in the steep, flat-topped Majuba mountain, nearly 7,000 feet high, round the foot of which the road runs, commanded, when the Nek itself is reached, by hills on either side. On this pass, though in Natal territory, the Boers took up their position to block Sir George Colley's advance, and here the general determined to bring matters to an issue.

The declaration of independence had been made on December 16, the fight at Bronker's Spruit took place on the 20th, but two or three weeks were necessarily spent in making arrangements and providing transport, and it was not till January 11 that Colley arrived at Newcastle. There he stayed for a fortnight to concentrate his small forces, but, fearing that further delay might involve the loss of Pretoria and Potchefstroom, he began his advance on January 24 without waiting for adequate reinforcements. At the head of less than 1,400 men, he crossed the Ingogo valley and encamped on a ridge, now known as Mount Prospect, about four miles from Lang's Nek, and on the morning of the 28th he moved out with the bulk of his force to attack the Boers. Their position was a strong one, some rude defences had been constructed, and sheltered behind rocks or in ravines the Dutch marksmen were fighting at an advantage. On the right of the Nek, between the road and the river, is a table hill commanding the pass, accessible by a steep grassy spur up which the main body of the British troops advanced. The 58th regiment almost gained and held the crown of the hill, but their charge and that of the mounted infantry who supported them was exposed to a deadly fire in front and on the flank, and the hillside was strewn with dead and wounded. Slowly and in order the English fell

*The fight
at Lang's
Nek.*

back, and in the afternoon returned to the camp, having CH. VIII.
lost by wounds and death some 190 men. —

Encouraged by their success, the Boers after an interval of a few days began to operate in the rear of the English, and *At Ingogo* to threaten communications between the camp and Newcastle. On February 7 the post and its escort was fired upon near the Ingogo River, five miles south of the camp, and prevented from reaching Newcastle; and on the following day the general, with between 300 and 400 men, moved out to clear the road. On the north side the hills run steeply down to the river, on the south is a plain slanting upwards towards a mountain ridge. On the slopes of this ridge another severe fight took place, and again, under better cover than their adversaries could find, the Boers inflicted heavy loss. Notwithstanding, the English held their ground through the heat of the day till evening fell. Then they drew back to the camp, in a night of darkness and rain, over a stream which was now a raging torrent. The fight had cost them nearly 160 men.

Reinforcements were by this time being rapidly pushed up the country, and, had General Colley held his hand for a very few weeks, he would have moved onward with overwhelming strength. The checks which he had received had been entirely due to want of sufficient numbers, and that deficiency would soon have been supplied. But it may be that reverses had made him impatient of delay, or that he dreaded the effect of inaction on the loyalist cause. Whatever motive influenced him, he determined, while his forces were still inadequate, to make one more attempt to dislodge the Boers, and carry the mountain pass which they had so stubbornly held.

His earlier advance had been made on the eastern side of *and at Majuba Hill.* the road. He now laid his plans to attack from the west, where the Majuba Hill, rising 2,000 feet above the pass, commands the whole position. On the night of Saturday,

PART I. February 26, a body of between 500 and 600 men marched out from the camp, commanded by the general in person. The troops were picked from the 58th and 60th regiments, the Naval Brigade, and the 92nd Highlanders, who had lately come up to the front. Three companies were stationed on the connecting ridges to keep open communication with the camp, and the remainder, less than 400 in all, climbed the mountain side. The route was slippery and precipitous, the men were heavily laden, they reached the top about 4 o'clock in the morning, but tired and exhausted were in no case for fighting, much less for constructing suitable entrenchments. At dawn they looked down on the Boer encampment with its waggon-laagers growing clear in the daylight. The sun rose, and they themselves were seen as plainly as they saw. The first impulse of the Dutchmen was to inspan their oxen and retreat; then gathering courage, as no artillery molested them, they began the attack. The ascent on the northern side of the hill, the side towards the Nek, is shorter and less steep than the southern route which the English had taken. At the same time the slopes were not sufficiently gradual to expose the assailants to fire from the heights above. Working up under cover, the Boers shot down the English as they went, and gaining the brow about the middle of the day poured in a volley which carried all before it. More than half of the English soldiers, who a few hours before had toiled up the mountain, lay dead or wounded, and the survivors were driven in headlong retreat from ridge to ridge and from boulder to boulder. Not often in war, it is said, an enterprise undertaken at dead of night succeeds. The most conspicuous instance of success, the night march up the heights of Abraham, ended in the taking of Quebec, but in the loss of General Wolfe¹. At Majuba too the English commander

¹ The battle of Tel El Kebir is another and more modern instance of a successful enterprise at night.

fell. Unlucky in life, General Colley met a soldier's death, CH. VIII.
laid low, as the rout began, by a Dutchman's bullet.

The disaster on the Majuba mountain, like the overthrow at Isandhlwana, was essentially dramatic. The attempt which General Colley made was bold to audacity, it nearly succeeded, but ended in complete failure. The night march, the defence and attack of the rugged, rocky mountain, the death of the Commander-in-chief, all made up a striking picture. Therein lay its historical importance. What had happened hitherto in the war had been serious but not very serious, and was most easily explained. Three times a far from unskilful but over-chivalrous and over-confident general had, with very few regular troops, faced a larger number of expert marksmen, fighting on ground and in a manner which suited irregular warfare. He had hoped to strike a decisive blow without risking too many lives either of his own men or of his opponents. His plans had miscarried, but the English had not yet really put out their strength, and their losses, heavy as they had been, were, all told, when tried by the standard of campaigning, such as result from no more than severe skirmishes. Every week was adding to the British forces. Colley's death had left the command for the time being in the able hands of Sir Evelyn Wood, who of all English officers best knew the Dutchmen and their mode of fighting; and he was in a position to take the field with several thousand men at his back. What had actually befallen could speedily be retrieved, but what could not be made good was the effect which had been produced upon the minds of the public. It seemed as though the Boers had justified their cause, as though David had slain Goliath, as though fighting for liberty the Dutchmen had proved irresistible. In South Africa the sympathies of their fellow countrymen grew with the tale of each success, everywhere their resistance extorted admiration, and won that liking which

*Feeling
caused by
the defeat
at Majuba
Hill.*

PART I. the weaker side, whether right or wrong, invariably attracts
 ——— to itself.

*Convention
 of Pretoria
 and retro-
 cession
 of the
 Transvaal.*

In England there was at first no doubt that steps would at once be taken to press on the campaign and ensure decisive victory. Sir Frederick Roberts was sent out as General Colley's successor, but reached Capetown only to find that an armistice had been concluded, and that his services were no longer required. After various meetings between Sir Evelyn Wood and the Boer Commanders, an agreement was signed upon March 23, by which the Boers consented to disperse their forces and return to their homes, having been guaranteed the right to complete self-government under the Suzerainty of the Queen. The final settlement in matters of detail was left to a Royal Commission, the result of whose labours was embodied, in the following August, in the Convention of Pretoria. The administration of the Transvaal passed again into Boer hands, and the British troops were withdrawn. Nominally the State was left in a position not widely different from that of a self-governing colony. The Queen of England was its recognised Suzerain. The control of its foreign affairs was reserved to the British Government. That same Government was empowered to move troops through the territory in time of war; and careful guarantees of native interests were provided. The appointment, however, of a British Resident at Pretoria, to 'perform duties and functions analogous to those discharged by a *Chargé d'affaires* and Consul-general,' indicated that, while falling short of a completely independent Republic, the Transvaal State would be something more than a colony with Responsible Government; men read between the lines of the Convention, each according to his views and prejudices, some approved, and others interpreted the treaty to be a skilfully worded surrender.

There was much to be said in its favour. The war

partook of the nature of a civil war. The future of South Africa depended and depends upon harmony between Dutch and English, and the longer fighting went on, the deeper grew the rift between the two races. Such was the view, for instance, of the President of the Orange Free State, unwearied in attempts to mediate between the two contending parties. Many petitions from the Cape Colony had indicated how strong was the feeling of kinship, how great the probability that bloodshed, if persisted in, would leave a future heritage of bitterness. In the Netherlands a Transvaal committee was formed, who petitioned the Queen of England, in the name of their own historical struggle for freedom, to give back liberty to South African Dutchmen¹. More and more to onlookers the war appeared to be a fratricidal strife, which had originated in a misunderstanding, and the object of which, self-government, had from the first been virtually conceded. Humanity spoke strongly on the same side. All those who thought knew that England could crush out the rising, but her victory would involve more loss of life. Was it worth while, was it moral, thus many argued, because there had already been fighting and slaughter, to kill more men, to make more wives widows and more children fatherless, to send out into the wilderness new bands of trekkers inspired with undying hatred of British rule, for an end which, if it were of any value, might be in great measure at any rate attained by peaceful means?

On the other hand, it was maintained that the British Government had been faced by open rebellion, it had refused in the plainest terms, often repeated, the demands which the Boers had made, it had incurred engagements to white men and to black alike, who trusted its word, it had required obedience, it had outwardly been strong until disaster

CH. VIII.
—+—
*Arguments
for and
against
the Con-
vention.*

¹ C. 2866. April, 1881, p. 79.

PART I. occurred. Its adversaries, before they fought so well, had of late years but an ignoble record, their country had been a scene of lawlessness and anarchy, a land where liberty had been abused, and where wrong-doers were unrestrained. It was, moreover, a land of ignorance, where humane concession would readily be interpreted as weakness, as an indication that the Boer was a better man than the Englishman. Was it not wiser to follow the old sound rule to be masters first and to be generous afterwards? Would not such a course conduce in the end to firmer peace, cemented by the conviction that Englishmen were as good as their word? These were in outline the views urged on either side; the Government declared for peace, the Dutchmen gained their point, and once more, for good or ill, there was undoing in South Africa.

*Sir Bartle
Frere
and his
policy.*

In the autumn of 1880, before the Boer war broke out, Sir Bartle Frere had left the Cape. He had been censured: he had been superseded in his High Commissionership, as far as South Eastern Africa was concerned; the special allowance made to him had been curtailed; finally he had been recalled. Both parties in the State had found fault with his conduct of affairs, he had left England in good repute with all men, he came back blamed and set aside. Yet, like his distinguished predecessors, who had been recalled, like Sir Benjamin D'Urban and Sir George Grey, if he had lost the confidence of Secretaries of State, he had won that of the colonists in South Africa. He left a name behind him which was honoured and loved; English, Dutchmen, and natives alike trusted his actions and believed his words.

Years enough have now gone by to make clear the leading features in Sir Bartle Frere's South African career. None can now doubt that at the time he bore the blame of much in which he had no hand. The annexation of the Transvaal, with all its results, was none of his handiwork.

It was his misfortune, not his fault, that at the time when he was High Commissioner in South Africa a forward policy in foreign and colonial matters was for good or bad reason widely distrusted in England. It was his misfortune, not his fault, that the Zulu war opened with the massacre at Isandhlwana. A slight change of public opinion, a slight turn of events, in no way connected with his merits or his demerits, might have brought him back in triumph not in disgrace, and the policy for which he was discredited might well have earned him thanks and honours. His policy was that throughout South Africa the British power should be paramount; that the way to deal with European colonists is to trust them, and to give them suitable institutions; and that in a continent where white men are colonising, and on the fringe of their colonisation, there can be and there should be no place for armed savages. These were the main lines on which Sir Bartle Frere worked, and most men admit at the present day that on these lines alone is to be found salvation for South Africa. CH. VIII.

Like many other peoples, ancient and modern alike, the Boers could fight but could not govern. Having regained their country, they relapsed very much into their old ways, became embroiled with the natives, and, trekking as ever, took up ground alike on the eastern and on the western frontier of the Transvaal territory. It will be well to trace up to the present time the course of events which took place on the eastern side, before turning to the West where the English in no long time pressed onward once more through Bechuanaland. 'The Zulu military organisation is an excrescence quite alien to the natural habit of the people.' The Zulus are 'men very capable of being moulded in the ways of civilisation and, when not actually trained to manslaughter, not naturally bloodthirsty nor incurably barbarous'. *Zululand
after the
war.*

¹ C. 2260. 1879, p. 27.

PART I. The words were Sir Bartle Frere's, written while Cetewayo's regiments were still in existence. Their truth is fully proved

Subdivision of Zululand.

Restoration of Cetewayo.

His death.

Boer Treachery in Zululand.

at the present day, for year by year Zululand with its people prospers in quietness and peace. Such a result, however, could not in the nature of things be at once produced, and the so-called settlement of Zululand after the war was hardly likely to produce it. The country was broken up into subdivisions, under thirteen chiefs all independent of one another, and two of them not even of Zulu blood, one of them, Hlubi, being a Basuto and the other, John Dunn, an Englishman. In three years a state of anarchy ensued, and at length, in 1882, the British Government determined to restore Cetewayo, though not to the whole of his original kingdom. About two-thirds of the territory was assigned to him, and of the remainder part was left under the rule of Usibebu, a chief of the royal house but a strong opponent of the old king, and part was constituted a Reserve under British protection, being intended to be a dwelling-place for those chiefs and their followers who might not be content to submit to Cetewayo's authority. Cetewayo himself paid a visit to England before returning to Zululand, and in January, 1883, was formally reinstated at Ulundi. For a year only his life lasted, and a troubled year it was. He wished to exercise and extend his authority as in the days when his word was law to a large and disciplined army. Hostilities broke out between his party and Usibebu's clan, with the result that the king was driven to take refuge in the Reserve, and on the advance of a small British force surrendered at Eshowe. At Eshowe he died in February, 1884.

By this time a new element of confusion was making itself felt. In 1882 Dutch farmers from the Transvaal began crossing the frontier and taking up ground for farming purposes in Zululand. Some came in, and brought others in their train, until gradually a considerable extent of Zulu

country was more or less in Boer occupation. After CH. VIII.
 Cetewayo's death the Dutch interlopers proclaimed his son
 Dinizulu King of Zululand, and siding with his party
 completely defeated his hereditary foe Usibebu. The price
 of their assistance was a title from the king they had set
 up to a Boer State in Zululand, which was christened the *The 'New
 Republic.'*
 August, 1884. Fearing to add to their responsibilities in
 South Africa, twice bitten, in the Zulu and Boer wars, and
 three or four times shy, the British Government had hitherto
 steadily rejected the only satisfactory solution of Zulu diffi-
 culties, the declaration of British sovereignty over Zululand.
 But it now became clear that, if not annexed by the
 English, the whole country would be taken by the Boers.
 To safeguard the sea-board, the British flag was in December,
 1884, hoisted at St. Lucia Bay, and very soon little but
 the sea-board would have been left, for by the end of 1885
 Dutch claims extended over three-quarters of the Zulu
 territory. At length decisive steps were taken, the new *British
 sovereignty
 proclaimed
 in Zulu-
 land.*
 republic was in 1886 formally recognised but narrowed in
 limits, being subsequently incorporated in the South African
 Republic¹, and in the following year the remainder of Zulu-
 land was proclaimed to be a British possession.

British sovereignty did not at once bring peace in its
 train. Intertribal feuds continued, the chief offenders being
 Dinizulu and his followers, known as the Usutu party,
 between whom and Usibebu there was endless war. Through
 1887 and 1888 the troubles went on, engaging a considerable
 number of soldiers and police, but towards the end of the
 latter year the malcontent chiefs were caught, tried by a

¹ In a district which was cut off from it, and included in the British
 Colony of Zululand as at present constituted, the Dutch farmers were
 by a special proviso allowed to retain their farms at a nominal quit
 rent. The district was hence known as Proviso B. The New Republic
 now forms the Vryheid district of the South African Republic, having
 been finally incorporated with it in July, 1888.

PART I. special commission, and eventually sent into banishment.
 — The record of Zululand since that date has been one of unbroken peace, and indications of mineral wealth have attracted a growing white population. Its northern frontier, extended in 1888, has latterly been carried inland up to the Portuguese boundary, including certain native territories situated between the Lebombo mountains¹ and the Pongola River, while on the north-east it borders on the coast country of Amatongaland now definitely placed under British Protectorate.

*Events in
Bechuana-
land.*

The Bechuana tribes on the western frontier of the Transvaal Republic suffered much at the hands of the Boers. Their grievances were heard of in England, for Bechuanaland was a favourite mission field, and men like Livingstone, where native wrongs were concerned, did not mince their words. Nor were traders, who went by the western route into the interior, inclined to let the Dutchmen stop their way. Before the Pretoria Convention was concluded in 1881, the boundary line was ill-defined or not defined at all, and the Keate award, which limited the Republic on the south-west, the Boers never fully accepted. That difficulties would constantly recur in this region was certain, and Sir Bartle Frere proposed to strengthen British authority by establishing agents of the government with the native chiefs, at such centres for instance as Kuruman in the south of the Kalahari and Khama's town of Shoshong in the far north². During the Zulu war the Boers tried to gain a footing in Bechuana territory, but the police of Griqualand West, with the help of volunteer levies, proved strong enough to hold them in check. Then came the Boer war and the Pretoria Convention. That Convention defined in detail the boundaries

¹ The Lebombo mountains form the eastern boundary of Swaziland, which by a Convention of December, 1894, is placed under the administrative control of the South African Republic.

² C. 2,220. December, 1878, p. 351.

of the Transvaal, and left to the Queen's Government, as CH. VIII.
 the Suzerain, the control of all dealings with natives beyond
 its borders. Notwithstanding, Boer marauders soon began
 again to make trouble among the Bechuanas, and, adopting
 the same policy as their countrymen adopted in Zululand,
 obtained grants of land as the price of aiding one or other
 of contending chiefs. The result was the establishment of
 two petty republics, one called Stellaland whose centre was *Stellaland*
 Vryburg, the other further north, bearing the name of *and*
 Land of Goshen. Thus on the west as on the east of *Goshen.*
 the Transvaal, unrestrained by treaty obligations, which the
 Boer Government was hardly able, even if willing, to enforce,
 Dutch occupation was spreading, to the detriment of native
 rights and to the exclusion of British influence. Fortunately
 the cause of two Bechuana chiefs, who were the immediate
 sufferers, the headmen of the Batlapin and Baralong clans
 respectively, found strong champions in England, among
 them Mr. W. E. Forster, bound by Quaker traditions to
 the cause of humanity. British interference was demanded
 and could not be refused, and action, when it came, was
 justified by success.

In 1884 a new treaty took the place of the Pretoria Con- *The Con-*
 vention, the Convention of London, signed on February 27 *vention of*
 in that year. *London.*

It amended the former treaty in important particulars,
 and the 'Transvaal State' was formally accorded the title of
 the South African Republic. One of the specified objects
 of the second Convention was a modification of the south-
 western boundary of the Republic, and the Government of
 the Republic renewed the pledge given at Pretoria to adhere
 strictly to the prescribed limits, and as far as possible prevent
 encroachment beyond its borders. In the following May
 a representative of the High Commissioner concluded treaties
 with the Batlapins and Baralongs, by which the administration
 of their country was vested in the British Crown; but shortly

PART I. afterwards fighting broke out between the Baralongs and
 → the Dutch freebooters of Goshen, and the Government of
 the South African Republic intervened, proposing to take
 over the Baralong country. The time had come for strong
 measures, if the boundaries fixed by the lately signed Con-
 vention were to be upheld, and if Bechuanaland with its
 native population was not to be 'eaten up' by the Boers.

*Sir
 Charles
 Warren's
 expedition
 into
 Bechuana-
 land.*

*The Crown
 Colony of
 British
 Bechuana-
 land and
 the Bechu-
 analand
 Protec-
 torate.*

Sir Charles Warren, who had successfully administered Griqua-
 land West in 1879-80, was sent out as Special Commissioner,
 and, landing at Capetown in December, 1884, marched up
 country with a force of 4,000 men, including a large pro-
 portion of irregular troops. The expedition was completely
 successful, no open opposition was attempted. Stellaland
 and Goshen were swept away, the boundary between
 Bechuanaland and the South African Republic was beacons
 off, west of the Republic a British Protectorate was pro-
 claimed as far north as the twenty-second parallel of South
 latitude, and the southern part of Bechuanaland below the
 Molopo River, the scene of the late difficulties, was on
 September 30, 1885, constituted a British colony.

Thus the territory to the west of the South African
 Republic, as far north as its northernmost border, was brought
 definitely and exclusively under British control, and the way
 was made clear for the English towards the Zambesi and
 Central Africa. The event was achieved in a short time
 and with comparatively little difficulty. It was almost
 a surprising success, when contrasted with previous reverses
 suffered at the hands of natives and Boers alike. The
 agents were well chosen, a determined leader backed from
 the first by a strong force, and a force composed in great
 measure of men accustomed to the conditions of South
 African warfare. But there were other circumstances which
 favoured the outcome of Sir Charles Warren's expedition.
 The London Treaty had but lately been made, and the
 advantages which it gave to the South African Republic

were too obvious to be jeopardised by persistently infringing its conditions. Weak and impoverished, the Boer Government could at the time hardly hold its own; and when, within a year, the de Kaap gold-fields disclosed all their wealth, and Barberton rose at once to be a miner's town, when immediately afterwards the Witwatersrand reefs were discovered, and Johannesburg eclipsed Barberton, the great resources, present and prospective, of the South African Republic tended to keep its citizens more than before within its borders, and the difficulties caused by a growing population on the spot not of Boer blood rivalled the enterprises of trekkers and freebooters in the attention of its government. A new element had in the meantime entered into South African history, which quickened the movements of the English, the appearance of European rivals on the south-west coast of Africa.

CH. VIII.
—→—
*Discovery
of gold
in the
Transvaal.*

South of the Portuguese dominions, no European nation, other than the Dutch and the English, had till a few years ago ever owned territory in South Africa. On the eastern coast the Portuguese held nominal sway as far south as the region of Delagoa Bay, but the exact limit of their territory was matter of dispute. It was a question of importance, for the bay is a natural outlet of the South African Republic, being now connected by railway with Pretoria and Johannesburg. The Dutch, it will be remembered¹, in the eighteenth century, planted a factory on its shores, which was abandoned after a few years of ill success; and not long afterwards the Portuguese appear to have built a fort by the bay, with a view to making good their claims of ownership. The bay narrows into an estuary, one of whose names is or was English River, and on its northern bank stands the small Portuguese town of Lorenzo

*The
Delagoa
Bay arbi-
tration.*

¹ See above, p. 83. The old history of Delagoa Bay from a Portuguese point of view is given in the Blue Book on the subject of the arbitration. C. 1361. 1875.

PART I. Marquez. The Portuguese right to the northern shores of the estuary and the territory beyond was uncontested; but, in virtue of a treaty made with a native chief in 1823, Great Britain claimed all the southern side. The Portuguese, on the other hand, claimed both shores of the bay and estuary, together with a considerable amount of territory to the south, extending on the coast-line as far as $26^{\circ} 30'$ South latitude. In 1872 the two Powers agreed to submit the question at issue to the arbitration of Marshal Macmahon, President of the French Republic, who delivered his award in July, 1875. He decided wholly in favour of the Portuguese; and Great Britain, the unsuccessful claimant, was at the time fain to be content with a pledge already given by Portugal, that the territory in question should not in any

*The
Macmahon
award.*

*The Anglo-
Portuguese
boundary
in South-
east Africa.*

case be parted with to a third Power. Subsequently, by the third article of the Anglo-Portuguese Convention of June, 1891, the frontier of the Portuguese sphere was moved yet a little further south, 'as far as a line following the parallel of the confluence of the River Pongola with the River Maputa to the sea-coast¹.' Up to that point British territory or Protectorate extends, and no room is left on the eastern side of South Africa for the intervention of any other European nation. Moreover, by the mutual concession embodied in the seventh article of the same treaty, Great Britain has acquired the right of preemption of any territories south of the Zambesi, which are within the Portuguese Sphere of Influence.

*The
German
Protectorate
in
South-west
Africa.*

On the western side of the continent, in the same latitudes, there is now a German Protectorate. In 1867, the Governor of the Cape Colony had urged the Home Government to extend British territory northward along this coast as far as the twenty-second degree of south latitude; in 1877 Sir Bartle Frere recommended that the whole coast-line

¹ C. 6370. 1891, p. 2.

should be annexed up to the Portuguese boundary; but in neither case was the advice taken. All that was done was, by Letters Patent in 1867, to confirm British possession of certain islets off the coast, which were valued for the sake of Guano deposits; and, on March 12, 1878, at Frere's urgent instance, to proclaim the Queen's Sovereignty and dominion over Walfish Bay and a small strip of adjoining territory.

CH. VIII.

The coast is desolate and harbourless. Almost the only natural inlet of actual or prospective value is Walfish Bay, which is just north of the tropic of Capricorn, in about twenty-three degrees of south latitude. The country behind, Great Namaqualand and, further north, Herero or Damaraland, is in many parts little more than a desert, which neither Great Britain nor the Cape Colony was anxious to formally possess, though it was generally regarded as being within what would now be called the Sphere of British Influence. The only Europeans to be found in this region were a very few traders and some missionaries. The latter were for the most part Germans, belonging to the Rhenish Missionary Society, whose work north of the Orange River began in the year 1842, and who within a little more than twenty years established at various points a dozen mission stations. Intertribal feuds between the Namaquas and the Damaras¹ endangered the missionaries and their work, and in 1868 they appealed to the British Government for protection, suggesting in their memorial that the whole of Damaraland might with advantage be declared to be British territory. The Prussian Government commended their case to the good offices of the English Foreign Office, as though recognising that the matter was one in which the British Government was alone concerned. Reference was made through the usual official channels to the Governor of the

*The
Rhenish
mission-
aries in
Damaraland
and Nama-
qualand.*

¹ The Namaquas are Hottentots, the Damaras are of Bantu race.

PART I. Cape, and a Commissioner was sent from the colony to Namaqualand, through whose efforts peace was for a while restored. No part of the territory, however, was then or subsequently annexed, with the exception of Walfish Bay; and in 1880, the Colonial Secretary, Lord Kimberley, definitely negated any schemes for the extension of British authority over the Namaqua and Damara country.

*German
views on
colonisa-
tion in
South
Africa.*

In the same year an article in the Berlin Geographical Journal attracted some attention in the Cape Colony. Its writer, Ernst von Weber, argued in favour of German colonisation in South Africa, laying stress on the kinship between the Germans and the Dutch Boers, advocating the Boer cause against the English, and suggesting among other points that Matabeleland might be a suitable scene for a German settlement, to which the Transvaal Dutchmen would flee from British oppression, and where, among natives of somewhat intractable character, German colonists 'by their greater pliancy' would be more likely to live at peace than 'the more inflexible and stiff-necked English'.¹ No signs at the moment indicated that the German Government shared or approved the views expressed in the article, but Germany had now reached the stage at which the acquisition of foreign territory is not distasteful to a great nation, and when colonisation furnishes a natural outlet for its energies. It had fought and won its great war against France, its union had been accomplished. Strong in consolidation and in the sense of work done and victory gained, its people were ready to compete in other fields, to take up waste places outside of Europe and credit them to the Fatherland.

*German
traders in
South-west
Africa.*

Early in 1883 the German Ambassador notified to the Foreign Office that a German merchant intended to establish a factory north of the Orange River, and inquired whether the British Government exercised any authority in the district

¹ C. 4190. 1884, p. 8.

in question, and, if so, whether British protection could be given to the proposed station; otherwise, such protection as the German Government could grant would be afforded to the undertaking, but not with a view to acquiring any footing for Germany in South Africa. In reply Lord Granville, the Foreign Secretary, asked for further particulars with a view to consulting the Cape Government. Some months later the Daily Papers contained the news that a Bremen firm had acquired from the natives the bay of Angra Pequena, lying in 26°38 degrees South latitude. Their claims conflicted with the prior claims of a British Company, who lost no time in pressing their side of the case. The question being raised by the German Government whether the English claimed rights of sovereignty over the bay and the adjacent territory, the answer which was given was to the effect that only Walfish Bay and the Guano Islands were actual British territory, but that any claim by a foreign power to sovereignty or jurisdiction between Portuguese territory and the frontier of the Cape Colony would infringe legitimate British rights. Correspondence followed, and considerable delay; the English Government began to realise that the Germans no longer aimed merely at security for a commercial undertaking, but had in view territorial sovereignty; the Government of the Cape Colony began to dread the neighbourhood of a strong foreign power, and to press for a declaration of British authority over the whole area in question. It was too late, the opportunity had gone by for ever, the English were estopped by their recent declarations from pleading old claims to ownership: and, before the year 1884 ended, a German Protectorate over the coast of South-west Africa north of the Orange River, with the exception of the Guano Islets and the Walfish Bay district, was an accomplished fact¹. The inland boundaries of the Protectorate and Sphere

CH. VIII.

Angra Pequena.

Declaration of German Protectorate in South-west Africa.

¹ A good summary of the subject is given in Lord Derby's despatch of December 4, 1884. C. 4625. 1884, pp. 3-7.

PART I. of Influence have, it may be added, since been defined by
 — the third article of the Anglo-German Agreement of July, 1890, by which access is given from the German territory to the Zambesi River¹.

*Results of
German
intervention in
South
Africa.*

The year 1884 saw the German flag hoisted elsewhere in Africa, and Germany taking keen part in the international competition which has parcelled out among various claimants the long neglected continent. Complications might have been avoided, and a considerable amount of friction, if the advice of far-seeing men had been taken in time, and the South African coast-line on the west side, as on the east, kept exclusively in British hands. But German intrusion into what the English had sleepily considered to be their preserve had at least the advantage of making Englishmen at home and in the Cape Colony more wide awake, and German competition gave a new and strong impulse to British colonisation in South Africa.

*South
Africa in
1887.*

By the end of 1887 the Transvaal was, as it had been at the beginning of 1877, a self-governing republic, subject to certain conditions, the most important of which is the restriction on its foreign relations embodied in the fourth article of the London Convention. The character of its population was rapidly becoming modified, and it was no longer merely the home of a small number of Dutch farmers living among a much larger number of natives; but by the side of the Boers was springing up a constantly increasing community of European and Australian miners and owners of mines.

¹ By this article the inland boundary from the Orange River northwards is the twentieth degree of East longitude as far as its intersection with the twenty-second parallel of South latitude, that parallel eastward as far as its intersection with the twenty-first degree of East longitude, that degree northward as far as its intersection with the eighteenth parallel of South latitude, that parallel eastward to the river Chobe, and the centre of the main channel of that river to its junction with the Zambesi, where it terminates. 'It is understood that under this arrangement Germany shall have free access from her Protectorate to the Zambesi by a strip of territory which shall at no point be less than twenty English miles in width.' C. 6046. 1890, p. 6.

The State, which had been abjectly poor, was fast becoming rich. Its boundaries had been defined, and it had gained additional territory. On the other hand the English held Bechuanaland along the whole of its western frontier; on the east, the coast country of Zululand had been constituted a British colony, and the first step had been taken towards a British Protectorate over Amatongaland by a treaty of 1887, under which the Amatonga people agreed not to cede any part of their territory to a foreign power without the sanction of the High Commissioner. On the north, the Republic was bounded by the Limpopo or Crocodile River, beyond which is the Matabele and Mashona country. It must now be told in very brief outline how, through the agency of a Chartered Company, this northern land has become a field for British colonisation.

Most of the country in question was under the supremacy of Lobengula, the king of the Matabele, son of that Moselekatze whom the Boer trekkers had driven before them as they went north. Lobengula's realm extended roughly from the country of the Bamangwato on the west to the eastern watershed, and from the Limpopo on the south as far as the Zambesi. He claimed as his subjects weaker tribes, such as the Mashonas, the Makalaka, and the Banyai. His power was, as Cetewayo's power had been, that of a ruler of armed and disciplined savages. In 1887 he was the most formidable native chieftain south of the Zambesi. Reputed to be rich in mineral, dimly identified by vague report with the fabled land of Ophir, this far-off territory was known to none but the few adventurous hunters and traders, whom the Matabele king admitted within its borders. Only in the extreme south-west, by the Tati River, were gold-fields opened in intermittent fashion about the year 1869. The great find of gold in the Transvaal in 1885 and 1886 recalled attention to Mashonaland, speculation was rife, and visions of wealth to be amassed beyond the Limpopo turned men's eyes to the north. Lobengula, as his

CH. VIII.



*Matabele-
land
and Ma-
shonaland.
Loben-
gula's
dominion.*

PART I. father before him¹, had always professed friendliness to the
 —♦— English, and when it seemed as though his country would become infested by white adventurers, whose claims would give trouble in the future, it was deemed advisable, in his own interests and in those of Great Britain, to send up a responsible agent to his Kraal at Bulawayo. Mr. Moffat, Assistant British Commissioner in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, was despatched on the mission, and in February, 1888, he concluded an agreement with the king, by which the latter undertook not to make any treaty with a foreign power, nor to sell or cede to foreign nations any part of his territory, without the sanction of the High Commissioner. From this date, as against Germany, Portugal, and the South African Republic, Matabeleland and Mashonaland were held to be under British protection. Subsequently the Anglo-German agreement of July, 1890, defined German limits to the west; the Anglo-Portuguese Convention of June, 1891, defined Portuguese limits to the east; and by the tenth article of the Convention of 1890 between Great Britain and the South African Republic, respecting Swaziland, the Transvaal Government withdrew all claim to extend its territory or influence beyond its existing northern boundary, the Limpopo River. Thus safeguarded against foreign claims, this northern section of the South African peninsula has been opened to British trade and British settlement.

*British
treaty with
Lobengula.*

*New birth
of Char-
tered Com-
panies.* The last twenty years of British colonisation have been marked by a new birth of Chartered Companies. Of four great companies which have received Royal Charters in this period, one, the eldest of the four, has found its field in Borneo; the sphere of the other three, the Niger Company, the Imperial British East Africa Company², and the British

¹ In 1836 Moselekatze made a treaty of friendship with the Governor of the Cape.

² For the Imperial British East Africa Company, see Part ii, p. 125, &c.

South Africa Company has been Africa. Youngest of the four, the last-named company has made most history, the scene of its operations has been most favourable in point of climate for British enterprise, and, whatever may have been its merits or demerits, its vigour in war and peace has commanded admiration from friends and foes alike.

CH. VIII.

—
*The
British
South
Africa
Company.*

Eighteen months and more passed from the date of Moffat's treaty with Lobengula, before the British South Africa Company received its charter. There were rival concessionaires with conflicting claims, but the two main groups of rivals came to terms, and combined their forces; and in October, 1889, the charter was granted. Well-known names appeared in the preamble, among them the name of C. J. Rhodes, the originating and guiding spirit of the enterprise. The 'principal field' of the company's operations was defined to be 'the region of South Africa lying immediately to the north of British Bechuanaland, and to the north and west of the South African Republic, and to the west of the Portuguese dominions.'

Its charter.

No northern limit to its sphere was fixed, and beyond the Zambesi into Central Africa that sphere extends. The construction of railways and telegraphs, the promotion of trade and colonisation, the development of mineral and other concessions with due regard to native interests, such were the objects which the founders of the company had set forward in their letters to the Government. These objects the charter empowered them to carry out, but any monopoly of trade was definitely negatived, and over the political and administrative dealings of the company the Government reserved a general control.

The extension of the railway northward from Kimberley into Bechuanaland, and the enrolment of police, at once occupied the attention of the newly-formed company; but, early in 1890, preparations were made to ensure the occupation of Mashonaland, and to forestall possible and

*The first
expedition
into Ma-
shonaland.*

PART I. rumoured competitors. A pioneer expedition was determined upon; but, before it set out, care was taken to soothe the Matabele king, suspicious with good reason of white intruders, and a route was prescribed, avoiding as far as possible the Matabele kraals. Guided by Mr. Selous, of hunting fame, a party of 170 picked pioneers, with 400 native drivers, and under the escort of 500 police, left their camp on the Macloutsie River on June 28, 1890, and marching east and north for 400 miles reached Fort Salisbury high on the Mashonaland plateau on the following September 12. Along the route a road was made; and at four points, Tuli, Victoria, Charter, and Salisbury, forts were established and garrisoned. Not a single life was lost on the expedition, and the Matabele, though evidently irritated and alarmed, made no opposition.

*Difficulties
with the
Portu-
guese.*

The shortest route to Mashonaland, however, is not from the south, but from the east where the starting-point is the estuary of the Pungwe River in the Portuguese province of Sofala. Immediately after the arrival of the expedition at Fort Salisbury, the representatives of the Chartered Company began to enter into relations with native chiefs to the east and south-east, whose territory the Portuguese claimed to be within their Sphere of Influence. Collisions ensued between the Company's police and Portuguese forces, notably at a place named Massi Kessi, where was a dépôt of the Mozambique Company. The Portuguese commandant at Beira, at the mouth of the Pungwe River, closed that route; a British steamer on the Limpopo was seized by the Portuguese Customs Officers; and for a short time open war between Great Britain and Portugal appeared to be imminent. The irritation of the Portuguese was intelligible. Though fallen from their high estate, they inherited the traditions of empire; and, if their dominion on the eastern coast of Africa was greater in name than in fact, they cherished the claims which in days long past their ancestors had made good, and resented

the threatening advance of private adventurers under cover of British protection. Their very weakness was their strength, and it had ill beseeemed the Government of Great Britain to take high-handed advantage of a smaller power. The Chartered Company's movements were held in check, correspondence passed between London and Lisbon, and in June, 1891, a comprehensive treaty was signed between the two nations, defining their respective Spheres of Influence in Africa. By this treaty the Company were guaranteed freedom of access to their territories from the eastern coast, and under its provisions, a railway, still being carried forward, now traverses the low-lying country, infested by the deadly tsetse fly, which lies between the Pungwe River and the plateau of Mashonaland.

*The Anglo-
Portuguese
Convention
of 1891.*

While in difficulties with the Portuguese on the east, the Company were at the same time threatened with Dutch invasion from the south. In 1890, before the pioneer expedition started, schemes of Boer migration beyond the Limpopo were in the air, and in 1891 rumours of a trek, organised on a large scale, took form and shape and attracted serious attention. To the entry of Dutch agriculturists, who would take up land under the Company and throw in their lot with the new enterprise, no objection could be or was likely to be made, but the danger was that a large body of armed Boers might attempt to rush the territory and proclaim a new republic. For a few weeks it was a real danger; but the Government of the South African Republic stood by the promises which it had made, and by proclamation and threats of fine and imprisonment discouraged the supporters of the trek; a detachment of the Queen's troops was moved up into Bechuanaland, the Bechuanaland police and the Company's police patrolled the frontier, the fords of the Limpopo were watched, and when at length, in June, 1891, a small body of trekkers made their appearance at the river, their leader was arrested and his followers were

*Rumours
of Treks
from the
South
African
Republic.*

PART I. dispersed. Thus relieved from any immediate danger of Dutch interference, and no longer in conflict with the Portuguese, the Chartered Company were free to deal in war or peace, as the case might be, with Lobengula and his Matabele warriors.

The Matabele war.

That war would come must long have been foreseen. To the Matabele power the British South Africa Company was a standing menace; to the Company the neighbourhood of savage regiments was a constant and deadly peril. Mashonaland, where the white men were established, where English settlements were growing up, and English administration was being organised, was claimed by the king as part of his dominions, and the Europeans had entered it with his permission. Savage despots, like the Matabele or Zulu kings, are despots only within limits. They find in existence or call into existence a trained fighting force which lives by war, and their young men, scenting blood from afar, will kill and be killed to order, but ever strain at the leash which holds them in. The chief himself befriends awhile and protects the trader or the missionary, he knows and dreads the strength of the white man, he learns, it may be, to discern between the European adventurer seeking what he may devour and the friendly government of the great white Queen, policy and not seldom some touch of kindly feeling holds him back, until troubled and perplexed by the growing numbers of self-seeking visitors, and called to account for such raids and murders as have been the custom of his people, he makes a last stand for savagery.

Beginning of hostilities.

Three years passed before the inevitable struggle came. The Matabele warriors murdered and enslaved the natives of Mashonaland as in the time before the Europeans came. White men too were threatened and robbed, life was unsafe, and property was taken. At length, in July, 1893, a Matabele impi entered the township of Victoria, butchering Mashona servants or refugees; and, refusing to leave the

neighbourhood of the town, were driven out with loss of life by the Company's mounted police. Communications with the Matabele king gave little hope of peace. He claimed the Mashonas as his subjects, and denied them the right of protection from the white men. The Company in consequence made ready for war, and forces of police and volunteers gathered to march on Bulawayo. CH. VIII.

It was no light matter this Matabele campaign. Organised in regiments, like their Zulu kinsfolk, the Matabele fighting men were considerable in numbers, brave, trained, disciplined soldiers. Against them were irregular troops, a very few hundreds in all. The route was long, the rainy season was coming on, not a few in England predicted some such disasters as had too often before been known in South African warfare. At three points the Company's troops were mustered. At Tuli on the frontier, about 140 miles due south of Bulawayo, was a party of 250 white men; at Victoria, 200 miles north-east of Tuli and lying due east of Bulawayo, a second column was formed, including 400 Europeans; at Salisbury, north-east of Bulawayo and 190 miles due north of Victoria, the third column numbered 260 white men. In all, the European forces at the Company's disposal were, when the march began, not 1,000 strong, but well armed and provided with ample ammunition and Maxim guns. The plan of campaign was for the Victoria and Salisbury columns to meet and march on Bulawayo from the east, while a simultaneous advance was to be made by the Tuli troopers from the south. Before, however, the scheme could be carried out in its entirety, the Imperial police in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, owing to the threatening attitude of the Matabele, became involved in the war, with the result that the Tuli detachment of the Company's forces was diverted westward to combine with the Bechuanaland police. Between Fort Salisbury and Fort Victoria stands Fort Charter, 65 miles due south of Salisbury, 120 miles due *The advance on Bulawayo.*

PART I. lived to tell the tale ; but natives bore ungrudging witness to the white men's dauntless death. The rainy season had now come on, further fighting in the jungle was useless, and the troops withdrew to Bulawayo ; but the campaign was over, the Matabele on all sides came back to their kraals, and early in 1894 Lobengula died.

*End of the
war and
death of
Lobengula.*

Thus ended the Matabele war. It ended with the breaking up of the military system which Chaka the Zulu had perfected in years gone by. As the Dutchmen, with their fire-arms, fighting in guerilla fashion, in old times overmatched Zulus and Matabele alike, so in later days it was left to an irregular force, with the modern appliances of Maxim guns, to conquer and disperse Lobengula's army. It was the work of a private company, into whose hands the Administration of Matabeleland passed, their powers being regulated by the Matabeleland Order in Council of July 18, 1894 ; and under the new system, which replaced a savage despotism, the number of white colonists increased day by day, and Bulawayo became in a very few months the scene of a thriving English settlement. It seemed as if a day of peace was at length dawning in South Africa, when Englishmen and Dutchmen would draw closer to each other, and when natives would no longer kill or be killed.

*Dr. Jam-
son's in-
road into
the South
African
Republic.*

' Another cause of revolution is difference of races which do not at once acquire a common spirit ; for a state is not the growth of a day, neither is it a multitude brought together by accident. Hence the reception of strangers in colonies, either at the time of their foundation or afterwards, has generally produced revolution¹. ' The Greek philosophers and historians moralised as to what constitutes a state, what are its safeguards, and from what sources dangers arise. Had they been writing at the present day, they might have drawn some of their illustrations from the South

¹ Aristotle's Politics. 5. 3. 11. Jowett's Translation.

African Republic, the political and social problems in which are in some respects not unlike those which troubled the communities of ancient Greece. The Greek states had their Uitlanders, an alien population outside the pale of citizenship, but we do not read in ancient history of sudden finds of mineral wealth attracting in a short time and concentrating in a small space a large number of immigrants. This has been the case in the Transvaal. Here there has been in an acute form that contrast and collision between the old and the new, which may be traced throughout South African history in the present century. Town and country have collided, town life in its newest guise, country life of an old fashioned type. It is difficult enough in a strong and stable European country, with a population of one blood and with a fairly uniform franchise, to reconcile the divergent interests of town and country; much greater must be the difficulty under such conditions as have prevailed in the South African Republic. The events which happened are in the minds of all. For months after the close of the Matabele war, the chief, almost the only outstanding source of disquietude in South Africa, was the position of the Uitlanders in the South African Republic. As before 1877, when the Boers were at war with Sikukuni, what happened within the Republic became matter of concern to all South Africa, so it was impossible, in 1895, that the relations between the residents of Johannesburg and the Government at Pretoria could be entirely localised. The strain grew greater month by month, a Transvaal National Union was formed in the Uitlanders' interests, a definite statement of grievances was formulated, and newspaper rumours pointed to the possibility of an armed rising. In the meantime, on November 16, 1895, the Colony of British Bechuanaland was incorporated in the Cape Colony; the Bechuanaland Border Police was at the same time disbanded, and a large number of its members took service under the British South Africa Com-

CH. VIII.



PART I.
—♦—

pany, who formed a camp in the British Protectorate about twenty-eight miles to the north of Mafeking, and between three and four miles from the Transvaal frontier.

Starting from this point on the night of Sunday, December 29, Dr. Jameson, the Administrator of the Company's territories, crossed the border, and at the head of rather more than 500 mounted men rode in haste for Johannesburg. Special messengers were sent to recall him, proclamations were issued by the British authorities strongly repudiating his movement, and on Wednesday, January 1, 1896, near Krugersdorp, about twenty miles west of Johannesburg, he found his road barred by a Boer force stronger than his own. From three o'clock in the afternoon till eleven at night he attacked with undoubted courage but without success. On the following day he attempted to make his way round the Boer position and reach the town; but his troops were outnumbered and worn out with hard marching and fighting, with want of supplies and sleep; and about eleven o'clock in the morning of January 2, after almost continuous fighting for twenty-one hours, the inevitable surrender took place. Two or three days later, on January 6 and 7, the people of Johannesburg, who had taken up arms on hearing the news of Dr. Jameson's advance, gave in their submission; Jameson and his men were handed over to the British Government; and the leaders of the Reform movement were put into prison.

It must be left to others hereafter to tell in full the story of this inroad into the South African Republic, to trace its causes and effects. It is a kind of story familiar enough when told of other times or of lands with which the English have little or no concern, but strange and startling when read in the morning newspapers as an event of the day, as an armed incursion in which Englishmen were inculpated, on which they staked their lives and their repute. One redeeming feature there was in the disastrous episode, that

the good faith of the British Government was kept beyond reproach. CH. VIII.

Dr. Jameson's inroad was closely followed by a native rising in Matabeleland. White settlers on outlying stations were murdered, for some weeks Bulawayo was in a state of siege, and it seemed as though the Europeans in this distant territory might be cut off from the outer world and overwhelmed. Events proved, however, that they could hold their own, showing no small measure of courage and endurance; and even before relief came from the south and from the east the worst of the crisis was past.

So at the time of writing¹ the clouds begin to lift, but the latest chapter in South African history is not yet ended.

¹ End of May, 1896.

CHAPTER IX.

GENERAL SUMMARY.

PART I. At the risk of repetition, it is proposed in the present
—♦— chapter to sum up in very few words the principal features
in South African geography and history, so far as they bear
upon the subject of European colonisation, and especially
so far as they concern the British Empire.

The history of any part of the world at any given time is unfinished, and will be unfinished till the end of all things; but the story of South Africa in particular is in its present stage obviously incomplete. In the previous pages it has been traced onward from the time when the Cape was merely a landmark, distant and dangerous, through the long years when it became the record of a trading station on a peninsula, with small and scattered outposts of settlement on the mainland. The incoming of the English has been noticed, the dispersion of the Dutchmen, the difficulties between the white and black races, between the two sections of European settlers, between the white men in South Africa and their rulers at home. We have seen the historic tie which bound South Africa to the East gradually weakened and finally sundered, and have noted the rise of a South African dominion, becoming more and more continental, growing in stature and fullness. What will be its limits, how soon and in what manner its loose, long limbs will become fully set, is at present matter of speculation.

The three great homes of the British race beyond the sea,

which are still under the British flag, are Canada, Australasia, CH. IX.
and the South African colonies and dependencies; and they
are naturally compared by those who are interested in
colonisation and the British colonies.

In making a comparison between them, it is perhaps not
sufficiently recognised that the area of British South Africa
is very much smaller than that of either British North
America or Australia. The Canadian Dominion is estimated
to cover nearly $3\frac{1}{2}$ million square miles, the area of Australia
is nearly 3 million square miles, and of the Australasian
colonies more than 3 million square miles; but the South
African territory, south of the Zambesi, which is under
British rule or direct British Protectorate, is, in estimate,
only $\frac{3}{4}$ of a million of square miles, and the great mother
colony, the Cape Colony, is smaller than New South Wales.
Even if the land claimed by Great Britain beyond the
Zambesi, much of it unknown or hardly known, be included,
the South African province, huge as it is, is still far smaller
than Canada or Australia, and, unless this fact is borne in
mind, a comparison between the three territories as fields
of colonisation, becomes misleading.

Of the three, South Africa is much farther from Europe
than is Canada, but not so distant as Australia. Of the
three it is the least accessible from the outside, it has
no Gulf of St. Laurence, no Sydney harbour. Its coast
does not invite trade and settlement. In early days it
warned them off. The Cape may have been a Cape of
Good Hope, but it was a Stormy Cape notwithstanding,
and Table Bay was visited, not of choice, but of necessity.
Because it was distant, because it was harbourless, and
because there were more attractive lands beyond, the bright
and glowing East, South Africa, though it was discovered
as early as Canada, and though ships of all nations were
constantly passing by and calling at its shores, was not
colonised in any shape or form for some time after the

—♦—
*Canada,
Austra-
lasia, and
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South
Africa is
much
smaller
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or Austra-
lasia.*

*South
Africa less
accessible
than
Canada or
Australia.*

PART I. date of the first settlements in Canada. Quebec is between forty and fifty years older than Capetown. On the other hand the colonisation of Australia and New Zealand is of a far later date than the beginning of settlement in either North America or South Africa, the reason being that Australasia is at the uttermost end of the earth from Europe, and in old days was hardly discovered, unvisited, and for all practical purposes unknown.

Comparison of Canada, Australia, and South Africa as regards lie of the land, climate, and resources.

In judging of a territory as a field of colonisation, the climate, the resources, and the lie of the land all demand consideration. Taking the last of these three points first, it is important to notice whether or not the good, the habitable land in a given area is continuous, and whether or not there is natural communication, meaning the absence of intervening deserts and mountain barriers, and the presence of navigable rivers. Canada is well favoured in this respect. The comparatively worthless and uninhabitable part of its territory, though it forms, it is true, a very large proportion of the whole, is away in the frozen north, while the area of actual or possible settlement stretches unbroken from the Atlantic to the Rocky Mountains, with navigable lakes and rivers too many to enumerate. Australia is not so fortunate. It is, as a whole, conspicuously wanting in large rivers suitable for transport, and, though its mountain ranges are not serious obstacles, it contains a great extent of desert land which is in the centre of the continent, cutting off north from south and east from west. South Africa, in a smaller compass, also comprises a large desert area, but the desert is mainly in the west, and only its fringes are crossed by the line of colonisation as it runs north-east from Capetown. On the other hand, the ranges of mountains in South Africa are complete natural barriers, and there are no waterways, none approaching even the Murray River System in Australia. Let us suppose that the Orange River had had a navigable channel and an

Want of navigable rivers in

open estuary, the whole story of South Africa would have been other than it has been. Instead of being the story of a locked-up land, most inaccessible from the western side, a land whose interior was in past days only painfully reached by occasional traders and trekkers in ox-waggons, there would have been a tale to tell of river traffic for centuries past by a highway leading from the open Atlantic, at a point much nearer Europe than is Capetown or Port Elizabeth, into the very heart of the country. This is not a merely fanciful conjecture. In Nature's distribution of her good things South Africa might reasonably have been allotted at least one fine navigable river, and the want of such a river is, apart from other reasons, sufficient to account for the very slow progress made by European colonisation in this region of the world, before engineering science overcame mountains, and made good the absence of water communication.

CH. IX.

South Africa.

In point of climate, South Africa as a dwelling-place for Europeans cannot be surpassed. It knows not the long Canadian winter. Its plateaus are higher than the plains of Australia, their air is more bracing and makes vigorous men. Like Australia, South Africa suffers from droughts in the western and central districts, and in soil it is not nearly so blest as either Canada or Australasia. It is in no sense, as Canada is, one of the granaries of the world; and, as a wool producing area, it comes far behind the Australasian Colonies. It is the mineral discovered beneath its surface, the diamonds and the gold, which has brought South Africa commercially to the front, and nearly all of the gold, together with some part of the diamonds, is won from districts which are not under British rule.

*Climate of South Africa.**Its mineral resources.*

The history of South Africa has been very unlike that either of Canada or of Australia. Until latter days its story has been subsidiary to that of the East. In one sense, from the point of view of discovery, as old as Canada,

Its history.

PART I. in another sense it is younger than Australia, for it never
 — really became a field for colonisation till it lost or was fast
 losing its connexion with the East, in other words till after
 the beginning of the present century. Like Canada, unlike
 Australia, it has known war, invasion, revolt, in all their
 forms, it has been baptized in the deep waters of affliction,
 and has gone through the trials and sufferings which make
 peoples and men. Here there is a native question, far
The native overshadowing any question of the kind which may have a
question. nominal existence in North America or in Australia, for South
 Africa has drawn native immigrants in countless numbers
 from the great continent to which it belongs, and it is one
 of the parts of the world in which the increase of the white men
 does not bring with it the disappearance of the black. Here
 then in days to come will be seen what is the natural result,
 when strong representatives of the white races and of the
 black live and multiply side by side, in a climate and under
 conditions which are favourable both to the one and to
 the other.

The two In South Africa, as in Canada, there have been two
whiteraces. distinct strata of colonisation, the earlier being in the one
 case Dutch, in the other case French; but it will be noted
 that in South Africa the Dutch and English have never lived
 so much outside of each other, as regards the areas of
 settlement, as has been the case with the French and English
 in Canada, and also that the Dutch and English belong to the
 same Teuton race. South Africa, as far as white colonisa-
South tion is concerned, is essentially a Teuton colony. Dutchmen,
Africa Englishmen, and to a smaller extent Germans have entered
a Teuton and multiplied there, and the only alien strain of any
colony. importance has been that of the French Huguenots. It
 is a question how far it is a gain to a colony to have been
 always under one rule and to have been peopled mainly
 by one race; whether Australia, having always belonged
 to Great Britain, and having been chiefly colonised from

the British Isles, has for that reason brighter prospects for the future than Canada or South Africa. On such a point we can only speculate, and the growing intermixture of races all over the world rather deprives speculations of their interest and arguments of their value; but it is well to remember the fact that Canada and South Africa differ from Australia in not having always been British colonies, and in having the double race; and that South Africa differs from Canada in that its two European races came originally from the same stock; nor, judging from our own English history, is it easy to believe that South Africa will not eventually be a gainer by the blend, while it is certain that its people will in some respects and characteristics gain, as all peoples do gain, by having had changes in their fortunes and variety in their history.

If South Africa has been a Teuton land, it has been still more preeminently a Protestant land. Dutch and French Calvinism, British Evangelical Protestantism, German Lutheranism, these have been the main creeds. The missionaries have been Moravians, Wesleyans, Scotch Presbyterians, members of the London Missionary Society, English Episcopalians, French Protestants in Basutoland, Rhenish missionaries among the Namaquas and Damaras, Norwegian missionaries among the Zulus. Only of later years have Roman Catholic missionaries also been in the field, for South Africa has been peculiarly a land of Protestant labour. Whoever wishes to study and to record the missionary efforts of Protestantism will certainly turn his attention to South Africa, and whoever wishes to study and to record the share which missionaries have had in making history will do likewise. On this last point enough has been said in a preceding chapter, but it is perhaps worth adding that missionary influence has, in the sphere of South African politics, been felt in two nearly opposite directions. In the days of Sir Benjamin D'Urban and

CH. IX.



*South
Africa
a Pro-
testant
land.*

*Mission-
ary in-
fluence in
South
Africa.*

PART I. Lord Glenelg the voice of the missionaries, or of some of them, was against the annexation of territory. In later times their voice has rather been for it. Yet they have not been inconsistent, whether right or wrong; protection of the natives has been their aim; and when the Dutchmen trekked into the interior, the missionaries saw security for the black men only through the extension of British rule.

Complicated nature of the political problems in South Africa.

From a political point of view, the past of South Africa has been, and the present is, far more complicated than the past or present of Canada or Australasia. The native question raises problems which may be said not to exist in Canada and Australia, and which have almost ceased to be important in New Zealand. The union of Canada is an accomplished fact, the union of Australia will come in its own good time, but the union of South Africa in some form or another is at once obviously of vital importance, and obviously difficult of accomplishment. Self-government is here of later growth than in the other two great provinces; in the Cape Colony it is only a quarter of a century old, and Natal is the youngest of the self-governing colonies. The boundaries of the British Colonies are constantly widening and are not yet defined by nature. The Cape Colony has lately absorbed Pondoland and British Bechuanaland, and it would seem natural that Zululand should at some future date throw in its lot with Natal. Outside the Colonies are Protectorates to be gradually moulded and shaped, and over and above the Colonies and Protectorates are two Boer Republics. There are foreign neighbours too, Germans on the west, Portuguese on the north-east. It would be hard to point to any political problem at the present day which bristles with so many difficulties as the South African question.

Modern progress in South Africa.

One great feature of our times, perhaps its most striking feature, is the increased pace at which the world moves. Towns rise up almost in a night, railways and roads are

made, not only where they would never have been made in old days, but at a rate which would never have been dreamed of not many years ago. Nowhere has this been more marked than in South Africa. It seems as though some pent up force, having slumbered in past centuries, had now burst forth, making a rapid, rushing life in a part of the world whose conditions before the days of men now living were peculiarly behind the time. What have been the causes of all this fire and energy? There has been the spread of railways, making good the natural defects of the land, bringing not only communication but comparatively fast communication—very fast as compared with transport in a waggon. There has been preeminently discovery of minerals. This has meant the incoming of a large number of active pushing settlers, the appearance on the scene of the capitalist, the speculator, the miner, the storekeeper, the journalist, and other ingredients of modern commercial life. It has meant the development of towns and of town population as opposed to quiet-going farmers and graziers. South Africa in the past had not much town life, and such town life as it possessed was mainly the life of what we call in England small country towns. The life of Johannesburg or of Kimberley has been something wholly new, an importation into an old world land of all that is most up to date and most quickly moving. Many political lessons might be drawn from the effects of the discovery of mineral wealth upon South African history, but one very commonplace deduction is perhaps specially noteworthy. Before any land is appropriated, and before any land which has once been taken is abandoned, it is well to be at pains to find out what it contains. If diamonds and gold had been discovered in appreciable quantities in the Orange Free State and the Transvaal respectively, while the one and the other were British territory, the political difficulties might have disappeared, for the incoming settlers would have

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Its causes.
 1. rail-
 ways.

2. dis-
 covery of
 minerals
 and
 growth of
 town life.

PART I. counterbalanced the old residents, and under British rule the new life would have absorbed or assimilated the old.

3. *Foreign competition.*

Railways and gold and diamond mines have given an impetus to South Africa, but other moving causes too have been at work. There are such things as blessings in disguise, and foreign competition is one of them. The declaration of a German Protectorate in South West Africa over a coast which the English had looked upon as their own was in a sense an annoyance and a misfortune, but from another point of view it was a distinct gain, for the result was that the English in South Africa extended themselves, to use a racing metaphor, because they became conscious of rivalry. For in trade and colonisation, as in every other sphere of human activity, competition is the breath of life, and most of all is this the case with those peoples, such as our own, which are not state-ridden and whose colonial empire has been mainly due either to individual effort, or to the enterprise of associations of private men. It is certain that since the date when Germany gained a footing in South Africa, the English in South Africa and their Dutch fellow citizens have bestirred themselves as they never did before; and, though other powerful influences have also to be taken into account, it is impossible to shut our eyes to the fact that in the south as in the west and east of Africa, foreign rivalry or the apprehension of foreign rivalry has introduced a new element of keenness, a stronger desire to move forward, and greater vigilance in all matters relating to the present and the future of the empire.

4. *The Chartered Company.*

The English, throughout their history, when pressing onward, have always made use of Chartered Companies. Two instincts have guided them, dislike of official interference, and the commercial instinct. Those men as a rule do most and best work who have a pecuniary interest in the undertaking, and an actual or prospective share in the

profits; and accordingly the British nation, being largely a nation of traders, has favoured the system of co-partnership among its citizens, who wish to open up distant lands.

CH. IX.
—♦—

Colonisation in South Africa began with a Chartered Company, and its present development has been to a great extent due to the energy of another Chartered Company. The old company was Dutch, not English; it was closely bound up with the state; it was an East Indian, not a South African company; it aimed at making money by a trade monopoly, not by promoting settlement. The new company, the British South Africa Company, is British; its sphere has been in South Africa alone. It has been as progressive as the Netherlands East India Company was the reverse. It has been a land company, not a sea company, making railways instead of building ships, developing an inland territory instead of establishing factories on a coast. To criticise a company's acts and administration, to analyse, possibly to condemn, the motives of the promoters, is easy and to some is congenial. It is obvious that a private association is more adventurous and less safe than the state. It is obvious that there are serious drawbacks to the system of Chartered Companies, however carefully safeguarded, and that such defects are more apparent in modern days than in times when public opinion was less scrupulous, and criticism less outspoken.

But for the purpose of studying the history of colonisation Chartered Companies should be looked on as pioneers, and the question to be asked is not so much whether this or that company had this or that object in its formation or in its working, whether it is or is not likely to be financially successful, whether or not some of its dealings deserve reprobation; but rather, is it a good thing that British colonisation should extend? and has the Chartered Company system promoted the extension? Englishmen are always being asked to apologise for themselves and for what they

PART I. have done. The answer is that the English have been human, have made many mistakes, have done things which they ought not to have done, and still more have left undone things which they ought to have done; but notwithstanding their work has been in the main great, wholesome, and sound; and those who read a true record of what British colonisation has meant, and how it has been carried out, will realise that the world owes much to the system of Chartered Companies.

*Great
Britain
and her
self-
governing
colonies.*

The relations of a mother country to its colonies, what they have been and what they have produced, in different ages and in different nations, is one of the most interesting of political studies. In connexion with the British Empire at the present day the question should be restated in the form, What is the result of political union between an old and a young country? Europe is old; youth, political youth is in the south, notably in Australia but in South Africa also, for in the present century South Africa has been born again. Self-governing colonies are dependencies in little more than name. They are making their own career, looking almost entirely to the future. The mother country looks also to the past. Hence there must be times of friction between the two, of irritation which may be momentary, prolonged, or even permanent. In the story of South Africa, since the Cape Colony became a British possession, all the phases in British colonial history have been manifested. Slave emancipation embodied the assertion of Imperial control. The successful resistance to the importation of convicts marked the rise of colonial self-dependence. But one lesson above all South Africa seems to teach, that the colonial policy of Great Britain should be consistent and unswerving, that constantly to go forward and back again is bad for all. It is the same throughout life, public and private. No men or people can lead, unless they are as good as their word. No men or people can lead, unless those around them, men,

women, and children, and dumb animals too, are confident that as they have acted to-day, so under similar conditions they will act to-morrow. This one great lesson is sadly taught by South African history. If it were to be learnt thoroughly, for that one single reason, beyond all others, we should have cause to value South Africa.

CH. IX.



To students of military history South Africa has something to tell. The moral to be drawn from the record of South African fighting is that it is not well to go out in all the approved panoply of European warfare against those who are armed with simple or with savage weapons. We read anew in South Africa the story of David and Goliath, and learn that if Goliath had gone out with something akin to the sling and the stone, he would have done better than when clad in his full suit of armour. The Dutch understood in past times fighting with Zulus or Kaffirs much better than the English, and the Boer war proved how far more fatal on South African battlefields is the hunters' marksmanship than the massing of disciplined troops. The campaign against Lobengula's warriors, carried through by irregular levies and military police, was conspicuously successful, because modern science in the shape of Maxim guns was combined with local experience untrammelled by the rigid rules of what men are pleased to call civilised warfare.

*Military
history of
South
Africa.*

In truth, neither in war nor in peace should South Africa be tried solely by a European standard. Criticism would be fairer, judgment would be juster, history would be more truly written and read, were it remembered how different from our own conditions of life are the ways and the necessities of living in this southern land. Where there are still the remains of savagery, where the old is very tenacious and the new very aggressive, where a great dominion and a nation are in making, with divers elements in divers stages, it is not only foolish to interpret men and events in the light of our own firesides, it is untrue to the facts and therefore

PART I. wrong. It is not so much England or the English Govern-
 —♦— ment that has made South Africa, as the men on the spot,
 the English and the Dutch, who have lived and worked in
 and for the land, who have seen the things whereof we read
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SOUTH AND EAST AFRICA

SECTION I

BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA

INTRODUCTORY

THE BRITISH POSSESSIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA

SOUTH AFRICA, taking the Zambesi River as its northern boundary, contains at the present time five British colonies, two of which, viz. the Cape Colony and Natal, are self-governing colonies, while the other three, Basutoland, the Transvaal, and the Orange River Colony, are Crown colonies, though of course the former differs entirely from the latter two in character. It also contains the Bechuanaland Protectorate, which stretches north to the British South Africa Company's territory and the Zambesi. In addition to this area there is the territory of the Royal British South Africa Company, now known as Southern Rhodesia, consisting of Mashonaland and Matabeleland¹.

The reputed area of the British dependencies in South Africa is as follows :—

¹ The territories of the British South Africa Company beyond the Zambesi are now known as North Eastern Rhodesia, and Barotseland North Western Rhodesia.

2 HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE COLONIES

	Square miles.
1. Cape Colony	276,955
2. Basutoland	10,293
3. Natal, including Zululand and Amatongaland	29,000
4. Transvaal	111,000
5. Orange River Colony	50,000
6. Bechuanaland Protectorate	386,200
7. Southern Rhodesia	143,830
[For purposes of comparison : United Kingdom]	120,000]

making a total of over one million square miles, or a territory larger than Western Australia or than one-fourth of the continent of Europe, and nearly nine times as large as the British Isles.

The main features of South African geography have already been alluded to in the preceding part of this book. There are low-lying coast districts, there is the plateau or high veld of the interior, and between them there are terraces, rising one above another. Moreover the western side of the peninsula differs from the eastern, as containing fewer high mountains and fewer rivers, as having a lower average level and a larger extent of barren desert.

The Cape Colony has a long seaboard and a great extent of coast country, but it also extends far into the inland plateau, and therefore contains within its borders nearly all the geographical conditions which are to be found in South Africa. Natal, on the eastern slope of the continent, comprises coast land and ascending terraces. It reaches the crest of the dividing range, but does not cross it into the high veld. Zululand is in the main a coast country ; while Basutoland, which has often been called the Switzerland of South Africa, is an entirely inland territory, among the mountain heights whence flow the headwaters of the Caledon

and Orange Rivers. Lastly the Orange River Colony, the Transvaal, the Bechuanaland Protectorate, and Southern Rhodesia, form part of the great plateau of the African continent, with the ground, beyond the basin of the Limpopo, rising towards the north-east, so that Lake Ngami in the Kalahari desert is at a much lower level than Fort Salisbury in Mashonaland. Matabeleland and Mashonaland, together with the greater part of the Bechuanaland Protectorate, are within the tropics.

CHAPTER I

THE CAPE COLONY

THE Cape Colony is a self-governing colony in the fullest sense. Its parliamentary institutions date from 1853, and Responsible Government from 1872. The Executive power is in the hands of the Governor, who is advised by an Executive Council. The Governor is appointed by the Crown, and up to 1899 was, in addition to being Governor of the Cape Colony, also High Commissioner for South Africa, having supreme authority over the Crown Colony of Basutoland, and representing the Imperial Government in all matters which arose outside the limits of those South African territories which have been formally constituted British colonies ; but these duties are now under the control of a separate High Commissioner. The Executive Council, by which, as Governor of the Cape, he is advised, consists, for practical purposes, of the Cabinet Ministers of the colony, five or six in number. They are members of one or other of the two houses of parliament, and may speak in both, but are entitled to vote only in the house of which they have been duly elected members. The Upper House is the Legislative Council, the Lower House is the House of Assembly. Members of both houses are elected, the electorate being the same in either case and the election being by ballot ; but the term of membership in the case of the Legislative Council is seven years, unless Parliament is previously dissolved, while members of the House of Assembly are elected only for five years. Members of both Houses are paid a subsistence allowance. No political distinctions are made on grounds of race or colour, though the



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education test withholds the vote from the large majority of the native population. The qualification for the franchise is British nationality by birth or naturalisation, ability to write name, address, and occupation, twelve months' residence in the colony prior to registration, and for that period either occupation of a tenement of an annual value not less than £75, or the receipt in annual wages of not less than £50. Any man who is qualified to be a voter is qualified also to be a member of the House of Assembly, but members of the Legislative Council must be over thirty years of age and possessed either of £2,000 in real property alone, or of £4,000 in realty and personalty combined.

For the purposes of elections to the Legislative Council, the colony was in 1874 divided into seven electoral provinces, each returning three members. Griqualand West was constituted an eighth province in 1880 under the Griqualand West Annexation Act of 1877, but only returns one member to the Council; and British Bechuanaland, under the Annexation Act of 1895, now forms a ninth province, also returning one member only. The Legislative Council therefore consists of twenty-three members, the President of the Council being the Chief Justice of the Colony. Smaller electoral divisions return representatives to the House of Assembly. There are forty-seven such divisions in all, one of which, viz. Capetown, returns five members, and two, Kimberley and Port Elizabeth, return four members each; six, viz. Mafeking, Cathcart, Humansdorp, Middelburg, Prieska, and Simonstown, return one member each; while the remaining divisions, with the exception of George and Worcester, are two-member constituencies. The total number of members of the House of Assembly is ninety-five, and they elect their own Speaker.

Local Boards in one form or another are numerous in the colony, municipal institutions having been in existence since 1836. The larger towns have Town Councils under special

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acts of incorporation. At smaller centres Municipalities have been established under the general municipal law of the colony; while for villages not large enough to be endowed with full municipal privileges a system of Village Management Boards has been devised. These last-named boards have no power of levying rates, but must make application for that purpose to the Divisional Councils. Divisional Councils came into existence under an Act of 1855, their main duties being the maintenance and improvement of roads in the division or district which they represent. Such divisions are not identical with the constituencies which return members to the House of Assembly, but are areas marked off for administrative or judicial purposes. Each division is in charge of a Civil Commissioner or Resident Magistrate, and the same officer usually acts in both capacities¹. The Civil Commissioners are ex-officio chairmen of the Divisional Councils.

The law of the colony is Roman Dutch law, modified by Acts passed by the Colonial Legislature. In the districts to the east of the Kei River a special Native Territories Penal Code is in force. The Supreme Court consists of a Chief Justice and eight Puisne Judges, three of whom form the Eastern Districts Court, and three the High Court of Griqualand. Minor cases are brought before the courts of the Resident Magistrates and of paid Justices of the Peace.

The total area of the Cape Colony, including British Bechuanaland, is, on a rough estimate, nearly 277,000 square miles. It is more than twice as large as the United Kingdom, larger than Austria and Hungary, smaller than Sweden and Norway. As compared with the Australasian colonies, it comes nearest in size to New South Wales, but is not so large as that colony. Its greatest breadth in a straight line

¹ Where there is a Resident Magistrate only, who is not also Civil Commissioner, the area in question is called a district instead of a division.

east and west is about 750 statute miles, its greatest length in a straight line north and south is about 600 statute miles. Its westernmost point on the continuous coast-line¹, viz. the mouth of the Orange River, is in $16^{\circ} 27'$ east longitude; its easternmost point, the mouth of the Umtamvuna River, is in $30^{\circ} 10'$ east longitude. Its southernmost extremity, Cape Agulhas, is in 34.50 south latitude; its northern boundary, the Molopo River and the Ramathlabana spruit, touches a point which lies in about 25.38 degrees of south latitude.

Viewed from the outside, the Cape Colony, with a very long extent of coast-line, facing west, south, and east, is curiously inaccessible. Its shores, taken as a whole, are little indented, and are deficient in natural harbours, in estuaries of navigable rivers. The western side of South Africa is especially unbroken and harbourless.

One of the few inlets on this side of any value is Walfish or Walwich Bay, in 23° south latitude, within the tropics, and between seven and eight hundred miles from Cape-town. It has borne its name of Whale Bay ever since Portuguese times, and was little visited except by whalers and other fishing-vessels until the Rhenish missionaries in the present century began their work in South-western Africa. Vessels from the Cape, both Dutch and English, took possession of the Bay at the end of the last century: in March, 1878, it was finally and formally proclaimed to be a British possession²; and it is now, under a Colonial Act of 1884, a detached part of the Cape Colony, in charge of a Resident Magistrate.

A low sandy peninsula, ending in Pelican Point, runs northward for four miles or more, and between this peninsula and the mainland, facing north, is the Bay, of horseshoe shape, between three and four miles wide at the entrance,

¹ The outlying settlement of Walfish Bay is further west.

² See Part I, p. 309.

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affording a safe and sheltered anchorage. At the south-east end of the bay, on the mainland, is the settlement, consisting of a few traders' stores and a mission station. The country round is a succession of barren sand-hills, except on the south-east, where, at a distance of from thirteen to eighteen miles from the coast, there is water and good pasturage. The total area of British territory round the bay, lying in the midst of the German Protectorate, is about forty miles in length north and south, with a depth inland not exceeding twenty miles in a direct line from the sea. As the one harbour on a long expanse of coast, and as a starting-point for the interior, Walfish Bay has undoubted value, but in itself it is a desolate possession, surrounded by desert and far removed from the centres of civilisation. In 1891, according to the census returns, the population of the district numbered 768, nearly all of Hottentot race, the white residents being only seventeen. The inner lagoon at the end of the bay is a good fishing-ground, and a considerable amount of trade with the natives passes through the port. The chief articles of export some years ago were ivory and ostrich feathers, but at the present day the wealth of the inland tribes mainly consists in cattle.

North of Walfish Bay the coast of Damaraland, south of it the coast of Great Namaqualand, belong to Germany; but there are some islets, about a dozen in number, lying off the latter coast which are owned by the Cape Colony. These are the island of Ichaboe and the Penguin islands, valuable for the guano which is collected on them. They were definitely annexed to the Cape in 1874, having previously been declared to be British possessions.

At the mouth of the Orange River, in $28^{\circ}38'$ south latitude, begins the continuous coast-line of the Cape Colony. Barred by banks of sand, the river cannot be entered from the sea, and the greatest waterway of the South African peninsula is, for purposes of navigation, absolutely useless. Six miles to the

south is the historic Cape Voltas, the cape of turns, so named by the Portuguese sailor Diaz, the discoverer of the Cape, as he trimmed his sails to the changing winds ; and fifty miles from the Orange River is Port Nolloth¹ or Robbe Bay, the place of outlet for the copper-bearing districts of Namaqualand, distant by sea 300 miles from Capetown. There is a little town at Port Nolloth, and from the port a mineral railway, on a 2 ft. 6 in. gauge, owned by the Cape Copper Mining Company, runs inland for ninety-two miles to the famous copper mines at Ookiep.

Below Port Nolloth the barren sandy coast stretches south-east for more than 200 miles, past the mouth of the Olifants, or Elephants River, closed like other South African rivers by a bar of sand, until, in the neighbourhood of St. Helena Bay, the beach and sand-hills are but an outer fringe to good corn-growing and grazing country inland. St. Helena Bay is a semi-circular indentation in the coast, with a diameter of more than thirty miles from Cape Deseada on the north to Cape St. Martin on the south. It receives the waters of the Berg River, flowing from some of the richest and earliest settled districts of the colony, but no settlement of any size is on its shores, and no port attracts trade to this section of the coast. Cape St. Martin is in $32^{\circ} 43'$ south latitude, and between twenty and thirty miles due south of this cape is Saldanha Bay, more noted in the early days of the Cape Colony than at the present time. Saldanha Bay is a fine natural harbour, the finest on the south-western coast of Africa ; but it is out of the way, at an inconvenient distance from the main centres of the colony, and the supply of fresh water is not so plentiful as at other ports. It is therefore little used except for purposes of quarantine, and no town has grown up in the neighbourhood.

From Saldanha Bay the coast runs sharply to the south-

¹ Called after Commander M. S. Nolloth, of H.M.S. *Frolic*, who reported on this coast in 1854.

east as far as Cape Agulhas, and midway between the two points is the Cape peninsula, bounded on the north by Table Bay. Table Bay is nearly sixty miles distant from Saldanha Bay, and five miles north of its entrance is Robben (Seal) Island¹,—flat, low-lying, nearly two miles in length by one in breadth, noted in the annals of the colony from the earliest times as a state prison, and now the scene of a lunatic asylum and a leper establishment.

Table Bay, with Capetown on its shores and Table Mountain for its background, is one of the well-known scenes of the world, told of in many books, depicted by many hands. Facing due north, the bay looks towards those northern lands from which European colonists, now in countless numbers, have for two centuries and a half landed on its shores; and the small Dutch settlement which Van Riebeeck founded has become a large and growing city. The mouth of the bay is four miles wide between the mainland on the east, and on the west Mouillé Point and Green Point which form the northernmost extremity of the Cape peninsula. Semi-circular in shape, large and commodious, Table Bay has been, and is still being made, by means of breakwaters and harbour works, comparatively safe for shipping; but naturally the anchorage is dangerous and exposed to the north-western gales which blow more especially in the winter time from May to November, and to the south-eastern winds which in summer come driving down through the gaps past Table Mountain.

In the bend of the bay, on its western and south-western shores, stands Capetown, with Table Mountain towering above it. Its suburbs run north on the western side of the bay to Green Point and Sea Point, and, in the opposite direction, circling east round the northern end of the mountain-range which forms the backbone of the Cape peninsula, turn southward down that peninsula at the back of the

¹ See for the name Robben Island, Pt. I, p. 14, note 2.

mountains towards False Bay. In this direction there is a railway connecting Table Bay and Simons Bay, leaving the main line at Salt River junction two miles out of Cape-town, running southward through Rondebosch, Wynberg, past the outskirts of the Constantia district, to Muizenberg, Kalk Bay, and eventually to Simonstown on the shores of Simons Bay, about twenty-three miles by rail from Cape-town.

All these places are within the Cape peninsula, the rugged mountainous promontory which runs south and south-east for over thirty miles, and ends in the Cape of Good Hope. Simons Bay is an inlet of False Bay, which latter bay bounds the Cape peninsula on the east and south, as Table Bay bounds it on the north. False Bay is far larger than Table Bay. In shape it is three parts of a circle, facing south, as the other bay faces north, with an entrance sixteen miles wide and a depth inland of eighteen miles. Eleven miles north of the entrance, in a corner of its western shore, is Simons Bay, safeguarded by a projecting point of land from the south-easterly gales, which blow straight into False Bay. Here, in a haven more favoured by nature than Table Bay, is the Imperial coaling station for South Africa.

The census of 1891 gave Capetown a population of 51,251; but, if the suburbs be included, the population at the present day must be over 90,000. It may be considered as a town with a double harbour, for Simons Bay is for practical purposes a port of Capetown. Taking a very rough estimate of distances in statute miles, on the western side it is nearly 6,800 miles distant from Plymouth, over 3,000 miles from Sierra Leone, under 2,100 from the Congo, nearly 2,000 from St. Helena, 2,750 from Ascension, 3,730 from Rio Janeiro, 4,140 from Montevideo. On the eastern side it is 930 miles from Durban, under 2,800 from Zanzibar, 5,300 from Bombay, 2,600 from Mauritius, and 5,600 miles from King George's Sound.

From False Bay the coast runs south-east as far as Cape Agulhas, the southernmost point of Africa, in about 34.50 south latitude and 20 degrees east longitude. Beyond this cape the direction of the coast-line is a little north of east. The mouth of the Breede River is passed, Gauritz River, Flesh and Fish Bays, known to the earliest explorers¹; and round Cape St. Blaize lies Mossel Bay, about 240 miles from Capetown, a port of some importance as an outlet for the central coast districts of the colony, sheltered from the westerly gales but exposed to the south-east. Beyond Mossel Bay is the harbour formed by the mouth of the Knysna River, entered between cliffs on either side, and over a double bar. Safe and landlocked, the harbour is accessible only to small vessels, chiefly engaged in the timber trade, for the Knysna district is in the forest region of the Cape Colony.

Further to the east, past Plettenberg Bay, Cape St. Francis, and the mouth of the Gamtoos River, the lighthouse on Cape Recife marks the western end of Algoa Bay, its easternmost point being Woody Cape, and the distance between the two points being between thirty and forty miles. A rocky islet in the bay was the furthest point reached by the Portuguese voyager, Bartholomew Diaz, on the first memorable voyage round the Cape of Good Hope. Here he set up a cross, before turning reluctantly homewards, and the rock still bears the name of St. Croix. On the south-western shores of the bay is Port Elizabeth, about 450 miles distant from Capetown, and 200 miles from Mossel Bay. Port Elizabeth, in 1891, contained over 23,000 inhabitants. It is the port and chief town of the eastern districts of the Cape Colony, and in point of trade it is now the first seaport in the Colony, Capetown taking the second place, and East London the third. The anchorage is good though exposed, as is the case with most of these southern bays, to the south-

¹ See vol. iii. of this work, p. 23.

east winds, and there is good railway communication with the interior. The growing importance of Port Elizabeth is due not merely to the fact that it is the outlet of pastoral and agricultural districts which year by year are better developed, but still more to its geographical position in relation to the territories further inland. The route from this port to the Transvaal gold-fields is shorter and more direct than the journey from Capetown. Capetown is the historic capital, the mother town of the Cape Colony, but Port Elizabeth, more specially connected with British settlement, is geographically the central landing-place for South Africa.

From Algoa Bay onward the coast turns more and more to the north-east. About eighty miles beyond Port Elizabeth is Port Alfred at the mouth of the Kowie River, flowing down from Grahamstown, between thirty and forty miles inland ; and about seventy miles further on, past the mouths of the Great Fish River and the Keiskamma, is the third seaport of the colony, East London, at the opening of the Buffalo River, 150 miles from Port Elizabeth, 260 miles from Durban. The drawback to this port has been the sand bar at the mouth of the river, but by artificial means, by dredging and constructing training walls, the channel has been deepened and the harbour made available for larger ships than formerly. The town, whose population in 1891 was just short of 7,000, stands on the southern bank of the river, about forty miles south-east of King Williamstown, an inland town also on the banks of the Buffalo River. The districts which more immediately feed the port, lying between the Great Fish River and the Kei, were not so many years ago troubled border districts, the scene of many Kaffir wars and of German settlement ; but East London is not dependent on them alone, for, passing through Queenstown, the railway is now carried on to the Transvaal gold-fields, to which the route from East London is in mileage shorter than that from Port Elizabeth.

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Between thirty and forty miles beyond East London the Kei River falls into the sea, beyond which, as far as the boundary of Natal, is the coast-line of the Transkei Territories and Pondoland, all of which now forms an integral part of the Cape Colony. From the Kei to the Umtamvuna, the river which forms the southern boundary of Natal, the land runs in a direct north-easterly direction for 150 miles. Various rivers come down to the sea on this section of the coast, among others the Bashee and the Umtata, but the only harbour to be noticed, and that at present a very small one, is Port St. John's at the mouth of the Umzimvubu River, which, at a distance of less than two miles from the sea, flows through a mountain gorge with cliffs 1,200 feet high. These cliffs are well known as the Gates of St. John, and at no point on the South African coast is the scenery so strikingly picturesque. A railway is now being made inland from the port, and with the development of Pondoland under colonial rule the harbour of St. John should grow in importance¹.

Such is a very rough sketch of the coast-line of the Cape Colony. It is worth noting for the bearing which it has on the story of South African colonisation. Here is a well-rounded peninsula holding a central position on the earth's surface, but with uninviting and dangerous shores girt by stormy seas and strong currents. Why did colonisation in South Africa lag so far behind discovery? Why, when settlement began, did it expand so slowly? One obvious reason was that South African seas and lands were inhospitable, that men looked in vain for the natural harbours and the convenient water-ways which in other continents made easy the coming and going of the trader and the colonist. They went by instead of remaining. They learnt to look on South Africa as at best no more than a temporary halting-place.

¹ Port St. John's was annexed to the Cape Colony in 1884, by the same Act which legalised the annexation of Walfish Bay. The rest of Pondoland was not annexed till 1894.

A glance at the map too will show that all down the western seaboard there is no port or settlement of even third-rate importance. It is only when Table Bay is reached that the inhabited and habitable coast begins, and north-east from Table Bay runs the main line of life into the interior. Thus, for practical purposes at the present day, the seaboard of South Africa begins at Table Bay, and its centre is not where the capital Capetown stands, but rather at Algoa Bay, the landing-place of the Albany settlers, which was the true inlet of British colonisation. Take the four chief ports in British South Africa from west to east, Capetown, Port Elizabeth, East London, and Durban. From Capetown to Port Elizabeth is roughly a distance of 450 sea miles, from Port Elizabeth to East London 150, from East London to Durban 260¹.

Next take the railways inland. From Capetown to the Transvaal gold-fields is a distance of over 1,000 miles, from Port Elizabeth under 750, from East London under 700, from Durban 483. Capetown is the historic centre on the South African coast, it is not the geographical centre. Further east by sea and land is the natural trend of European colonisation.

In describing the land of the Cape Colony, it is a little difficult to determine what are the most natural subdivisions for the purposes of geographical description. The mountain ranges, as has been more than once pointed out, run roughly parallel to the sea, and the land lies in successive plateaus. Thus a straight line drawn north from the coast, half-way between Capetown and Port Elizabeth, to the Orange River, would pass through a coast district with its own lines of hills, through an intermediate inland plateau, the Great Karroo, and through a further plateau again, the Upper Karroo, which stretches to the Orange River. But the Orange

¹ Above, on p. 11, the distance from Capetown to Durban is given roughly in statute miles.

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River is not a natural boundary any more than it is the political boundary of the Cape Colony. The Upper Karroo is the main plateau of the continent and stretches beyond the river through Griqualand West, through British Bechuanaland, and through the Bechuanaland Protectorate. Moreover, the South African peninsula being semi-circular, a description which took a line only from south to north would not be adequate. There is also a wide distinction between west and east, a dry and in many parts barren and thinly-populated west, and a well-watered east with a large native population. While too the mountains turn with the coast, and at most points a line can more or less definitely be drawn between coast region and inland plateau, inland there is a general slope upward from west to east, as indicated by the course of the Orange River, and here and there on the map are subsidiary groups of mountains and hills which give to the colony a broken and varied area difficult to outline.

The main mountain buttress of the main continental plateau runs, like the coast, in a semi-circle. At the north-western end of the Cape Colony, in Little Namaqualand, it bears the name of the Kamiesbergen, rising to over 5,000 feet. Continued in a south-easterly direction as the Langebergen, Kamiskow, and Bokkeveld mountains, this main range turns the corner as the coast turns, bearing the name of the Roggeveld, and runs east in the Komsberg and Nieuwveld mountains. Bearing north of east under the name of Sneeuwbergen, one peak of which, the Compassberg, is 7,800 feet high, the highest point in the Cape Colony, the mountain line is carried on by the Stormberg range, until it becomes the Quathlamba or Drakensberg mountains, the best defined mountain-range in South Africa, whose course is due north-east, strictly parallel to the coast, and which forms the inner boundary of the easternmost districts of the Cape Colony, and of Natal, the outer boundary of Basutoland and the Orange River Colony.

This semi-circle of mountains is the dividing range for the waters of the Cape Colony. On the inside the rivers run into the Orange River, on the outside they run west, south, or south-east into the sea. In the latter case the larger streams, as a rule, find their way in Kloofs or ravines through one or more intermediate lines of mountains lying between the main range and the sea, and parallel to the one and the other. In the north-west the main range, the Kamiesbergen, is the only mountain line between the interior and the sea ; but, lower down on the western side, the Cedarberg and Olifants River mountains form a second and subsidiary barrier, parallel to the sea coast and parallel also to the main mountain range. These mountains culminate in the Great Winterhoek, a point between six and seven thousand feet high ; and, being carried on, they round the corner of the continent under the name of the Drakenstein and Hex River mountains, directly fronting the Cape peninsula. The corner being turned and the land running west and east, there are now, for many miles, two subsidiary ranges instead of one, clearly defined, paralalled to the sea, to the main range, and to each other. Of these two ranges, the one nearest the sea is known successively as the Langebergen, the Outeniqua, and the Langkloof mountains, ending on the borders of the Uitenhage division, not far short of Port Elizabeth. Behind them the second line is the Zwarteberg, continued east as the Baviaan's Kloof mountains, the Cockscorn mountains, and the Zuurberg. As the coast turns up to the east, the mountains become more irregular in their grouping, but the Winterberg and the Amatola mountains form an intermediate barrier between the main range of the continent and the sea ; and similarly through the Transkei Territories, and on the border-line between Pondoland and Griqualand East, where are well defined points such as Mount Frere and Mount Ayliff, the traveller from the sea to the main mountain range which guards the interior would

cross at least one line of hills or mountains. Only it should be borne in mind that in the south the chief feature of South African geography, the rising of the land by distinct steps from the sea to the interior, is most clearly marked, and that at every point the innermost range is the main range, the source and the dividing place of the larger rivers.

The greatest river system in the Cape Colony is that of the Orange River. The chief feeders of this river are on the northern side, the Caledon, the Vaal, and the tributaries of the Vaal. On the southern side it is fed by many streams, but none of great size, and the further it flows west, the less water it receives. Rising amid the highest and easternmost points of the Drakensberg, it flows for over a thousand miles to the Western Sea, draining, with its tributaries, an estimated area of 300,000 square miles; but it varies in volume, it runs for a great part of its course in an inaccessible channel, it is of comparatively little use to the land though which it passes, of no use when it reaches the sea. The other rivers of the Cape Colony are of small importance. Most of them alternate between flood and drought, and are devoid of navigable estuaries. On the west coast are the Olifants and the Berg Rivers. On the south coast are, among others, the Breede, the Gauritz, the Knysna, the Gamtoos, and the Sunday Rivers; and on the south-east the rivers are numerous, including the Great Fish River, the Keiskamma, the Buffalo, the Kei, the Bashee, the Umtata, and the Umzimvubu.

The coasts of South Africa are difficult of access. Inside the coast-line there is a succession of mountain barriers. The rivers when constant are usually rapid, and the streams of the plateau are dry during a great part of the year. For irrigation purposes, many if not most of the South African rivers are of little value, uncertain in volume, and flowing in deep channels; while in the whole of the Cape Colony there is not one river which can fairly be called a navigable water-way. Of all the lands on the earth's surface there is

none where the obstacles to colonisation have been greater than they have been in South Africa ; there is none where colonists, having at length entered it, would, as they dispersed, be more cut off from one another ; and there is none where modern engineering has been of more priceless value, as giving the means of communication which nature has refused.

Canada opens towards Europe in the gulf of St. Lawrence. It has lakes and rivers almost innumerable which have been highways of colonisation ; and up to the line of the Rocky Mountains there stretches an even continent. Australia, not unlike a larger South Africa in some points in its geographical outline, is yet far better furnished with harbours and far less barred by mountain ranges. Nature, in short, has given no helping hand to the colonising of the Cape Colony. Possibly, posterity will judge that, for that very reason, this difficult land has been well and strongly colonised.

The best-watered districts of the Cape Colony are the coast districts from the Cape peninsula eastward. In the north-west there is a nearly rainless zone, the annual rainfall at Port Nolloth not exceeding two to three inches. To the eastern districts of the colony the south-easterly winds in the summer season bring rain from the Indian Ocean. In the Cape peninsula and in the western districts the winter months are the rainy months, and rain comes from the Atlantic with westerly and north-westerly winds. Inland, the curving mountains intercept the rain from west or east alike, and on the Karroos behind them the fall is much less than on the side which faces the sea. Throughout the colony the rainfall varies very much from year to year, but at the Capetown observatory there is recorded an average annual rainfall of about twenty-eight inches, and at King Williamstown of about twenty-six. The average therefore in the south and south-east is much the same as in the

United Kingdom, but the difference from year to year is considerably greater, and the evaporation is much greater also. Inland, on the Karroos, the annual rainfall may be said to be from ten to twenty inches, increasing from west to east, but rarely rising to twenty and often falling below ten. Here the rain is very intermittent, and often comes in the form of thunder-showers. Beyond the Orange River, at Kimberley, the annual rainfall is about eighteen inches, but further north, at Mafeking in British Bechuanaland, it is larger and reaches thirty inches.

The mean annual temperature of the Cape Colony is estimated to be 63° , being much the same temperature as that of Sydney or Melbourne. At the Capetown observatory the mean is 61° , the mean maximum being 71° and the mean minimum 53° . But any general statement of the climate of a territory so extensive and so varied in surface is somewhat misleading. Mafeking, on the northern frontier of the colony, is 870 miles by rail north-east of Capetown, and therefore nearer by hundreds of miles to the tropics. On the other hand, the temperature of the inland districts is modified by their height above the sea and by the dryness of the air; and the rainfall as well as the altitude of the west is lower than that of the east in the same latitudes. The climate of Capetown, in spite of storm and wind, is a mild English climate; and that of Grahamstown, 1,800 feet above the sea, is for Englishmen, in point of healthiness, all that could be desired. But it is on the Karroos, the open plains beyond the mountains, that the typical South African climate is experienced; very dry, very bracing, with a far greater difference of temperature between day and night than is the case on the lower levels. The meaning of the word Karroo is a bare place, and exposed these plateaus are to the full strength of the sun, to all the freshness of the air. The Karroo proper is an intermediate plateau, lying between the Zwarteborgen on the south and the main mountain

range of the continent on the north. Its average level is from 2,000 to 3,000 feet. Beyond the main mountain range the level of the continental plateau, sometimes known, as far as the Orange River, as the Upper Karroo, is from 3,000 to 5,000 feet. It is essentially a life-giving and invigorating climate, this inland climate of South Africa. The physique of Europeans in the Cape Colony is as fine as it is, in the case of the Dutch Boers it is finer than it is, in their old northern home¹.

The plains of the Karroo, including both the Karroo proper and the Upper Karroo, from Calvinia in the west to Middelburg in the east, and from the line of the Zwartebergen to the Orange River, are pastoral districts, where, except in times of unusual drought, sheep thrive upon the stunted bush which forms the normal vegetation of these plains. The Fraserburg, Beaufort West, and Victoria West divisions are typical sheep-farming districts of the Karroo. Still larger numbers of sheep, however, are to be found in the grass country to the east of the Karroo, in the divisions of Queenstown, Cathcart, Stutterheim, Wodehouse, Aliwal North, and Barkly East. In the Transkei Territories too there is a large and growing number of sheep, and some of the best sheep farms are in the long settled districts in the south-west of the colony, in Swellendam, Caledon, and Bredasdorp. The sheep are mainly of the merino breed, more valuable as wool producers than the old type of Cape sheep which is dying out except among the natives; and the great bulk of the wool is exported from Port Elizabeth and East London. Wool, as a product of the Cape Colony, is supplemented by mohair; and angora goats, which yield the latter article, are pastured in many districts, especially in the inland divisions behind Port Elizabeth, such as Somerset East and Graaf Reinet.

¹ For the climate of South Africa, see a paper by Dr. Symes Thompson on *South Africa as a health resort*. *Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute*, vol. xx. 1888-9.

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Wherever there is feed in the colony for cattle, cattle are found, more especially perhaps in the coast districts, in the eastern and north-eastern grass lands, and north of the Orange River ; but the number of cattle in the Cape Colony hardly tends to increase, for, with the development of railways and the improvement of roads, oxen are year by year less required for purposes of transport ; and at no distant time the trekker in his ox-waggon will become the exception, where he was once the rule. Nor is the climate or the soil of South Africa, taken as a whole, very suitable for dairy farming, and butter and cheese are still imported from beyond the sea.

Ostrich farming is a speciality of South Africa. In the Cape Colony the largest ostrich farms are in the Oudtshoorn division, in the south of the colony behind Mossel Bay ; but the industry is also carried on in the districts round Port Elizabeth, the divisions of Uitenhage, Albany, and Somerset East.

Turning from the pastoral resources of the colony to its agricultural wealth, it must be noted that the Cape Colony has no pretensions to be one of the grain-producing territories of the world. It has neither the soil nor the climate of the north-west of Canada, and corn hardly appears in the list of exports. Yet the colony produces grain of all kinds, from wheat to maize and Kaffir corn, wheat notably in the south-west corner, where from very early days of European settlement Malmesbury and Piquetberg have been the corn-grower's special districts, and maize or mealies in those parts of the colony, such as the Transkei, where there is a large native population. Next to corn comes wine. There was a time when wine was the best-known product of the Cape, and when Constantia fetched a monopoly price in Europe. That time has long since passed, but wine is still exported from the Cape ; and, if the export is small, it is not the grape which is to blame so much as the manufacture of the wine.

The wine-growing districts are the Cape peninsula itself, which contains the famous vineyards of Constantia, and the neighbouring divisions of the mainland, Stellenbosch, Paarl, Malmesbury, Worcester, and Robertson. These were the scenes of the earliest outlying settlements, where the French refugees from a land of vines brought their skill and knowledge to bear upon wine-growing in South Africa. Fruit of all kinds grows well in the Cape Colony, varying with the level of the land. In the southern districts is the largest growth, and in the south too, especially in the division of Oudtshoorn, tobacco is cultivated.

There is forest land in the Cape Colony, not on the bare central plains, nor now to any extent on the western side of the colony, though the name of the Cedarberg mountains in the Clanwilliam division tells of the cedar forests which once clothed this region. The best-known forest area is in the centre of the southern coast, where the rainfall is plentiful, in the George, Knysna, and Humansdorp divisions. Here there is a belt of timber, 150 miles long with a depth inland of from ten to twenty miles, valuable, among other reasons, as a preserve for elephants. The other chief forest region is further to the east, among the Amatola mountains behind King Williamstown. The timber includes yellowwood, stinkwood used in making waggons, and boxwood.

Of the minerals found within the range of the colony, the diamonds of the Kimberley district take the first place, and the copper of Namaqualand comes second; coal is found and mined to the north of Queenstown in the north-eastern districts, at Indwe, Fairview, Cyphergat, and Molteno. A little gold has been mined in the Knysna division on the southern coast, but the gold which swells the export returns of the Cape Colony comes from beyond its borders.

Dividing the colony by geographical features, climate, and products, there is a desert tract in the north-west—Namaqualand, whence little comes but copper. To the south of

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Namaqualand, along the coast, is the division of Clanwilliam, through which the Olifants River flows. It is in most parts a dry area, but contains grazing lands, and, where water is more plentiful, grain and fruit farms. Its population is small and scattered, and it contains but one small town which also bears the name of Clanwilliam. South of this division are Piquetberg and Malmesbury, corn-growing districts between the mountains and the sea, watered by the Berg River, with a considerable population of Dutch farmers. Malmesbury, the chief centre in these districts, is a small country town with between 2,000 and 3,000 inhabitants, about forty miles north of Capetown, with which it is connected by rail, this branch-line being the westernmost railway in the Cape Colony with the exception of the Copper Company's line from Ookiep to Port Nolloth.

South of Malmesbury are what would in England be called the home counties, the Cape division, Stellenbosch, and the Paarl. These are the scenes of the original Dutch and French settlers in or near the Cape peninsula, townsmen, vine and fruit growers. In addition to Capetown and its suburbs, there are in the peninsula the watering-place of Kalk Bay, and the naval station of Simonstown; and outside it are the old Dutch country town of Stellenbosch, with 3,000 to 4,000 inhabitants, the chief educational centre, outside Capetown, of the western districts of the colony, the Paarl with a population of 8,000, Wellington, and Fransche Hoek 'the French corner.'

Following the line of the southern coast, between the Zwartebergen and the sea, and traversed throughout their length by the coast range of the Langebergen, are Caledon and Robertson, Bredasdorp and Swellendam, Riversdale and Ladismith, Mossel Bay and Oudtshoorn. These are corn-growing, fruit-growing, and pastoral districts, including most of the lands watered by the Breede River and its tributaries. Oudtshoorn, which lies behind Mossel Bay, north of the

coast range, south of the Zwarteborgen, is perhaps the most important division, a fertile and well-watered area where a large amount of fruit is grown in addition to the tobacco planting and ostrich farming industries. The town of Oudtshoorn has a population of over 4,000. East of Mossel Bay and Oudtshoorn are the timber-producing districts of George and Knysna, with Uniondale immediately behind them. The forest belt runs east into the Humansdorp division, next to which is Uitenhage and the division of Port Elizabeth on Algoa Bay. Uitenhage and Humansdorp are agricultural and pastoral districts, and the town of Uitenhage on the Zwartkops River is one of some importance, chiefly owing to the wool-washing industry. Its population in 1891 numbered over 5,000.

Having traced the coast districts round from the mouth of the Orange River to Algoa Bay, if a straight line be drawn from that Bay to the Orange River, it will be found that nearly all the inland territory to the west of that line consists of Karroo country. It may be noted too, in passing, that the only mineral districts in the western half of the colony and south of the Orange River are the copper-bearing area in Namaqualand, and the small gold-bearing area in the Knysna division. Inside Namaqualand and Clanwilliam, going from west to east, and keeping north of the main dividing range, we have Calvinia, Fraserburg, Carnarvon, Prieska, and Victoria West, large tracts of territory, in great measure desert land, little populated, bare and dry, but with extensive sheep and goat runs, improving from west to east. Through Victoria West runs the railway from Capetown to the Transvaal gold-fields. East of these divisions are Richmond, Hopetown, Hanover, and Colesberg, still north of the dividing range, still west of the longitude of Algoa Bay. High above the sea, dry and bracing, these districts, like the divisions previously mentioned, are mainly pastoral and mainly wool-producing districts ; but they are at once

less dried up than the more western territories, and more within the range of civilisation, as railways come into and through them from Capetown in one direction, from Port Elizabeth on the other. Thus they contain more towns than are to be found further west, though the towns are all of small size. Among them are Hopetown upon the Orange River, Colesberg near to it, Hanover, and Richmond ; the last three places all being between 4,000 and 5,000 feet above the sea.

South of the inland divisions which have been specified above, and separated from them by the dividing range, is the Karroo proper, the Great Karroo of Cape Colony history. In the south-west corner of this area, however, shut in by circling mountains, there are tracts which belong neither to the coast region nor to the Karroo, parts of the Worcester and Tulbagh divisions, lying between the Drakenstein mountains and Great Winterhoek on the one side and the Hex River mountains on the other. Here are fertile corn and wine-growing valleys, the town of Worcester with over 5,000 inhabitants, Tulbagh, and Ceres. East and north-east the land rises to the Karroo, comprising the divisions of Prince Albert and Beaufort West, Willowmore, Aberdeen, Jansenville, Murraysburg, Graaf Reinet, and Middelburg ; all, roughly speaking, south of the dividing range, though here and there they stretch across the mountains¹. Typical towns of this Karroo district are Beaufort West with about 3,000, and Graaf Reinet with about 6,000 inhabitants, each a centre of the pastoral industry, the former on the railway from Cape-town to the interior, the latter connected by rail with Port Elizabeth. In old Dutch times Graaf Reinet was the most remote settlement in the Cape Colony, the home of the malcontent Boers, who resented the irksome rule of the

¹ The division of Beaufort West, for instance, extends beyond the dividing range, and Middelburg is north of the Compassberg though apparently in the southern watershed.

Netherlands Company. Now it is, in geographical position, perhaps the most central point in the colony, on the border line between the east and the west, the north and the south.

Due north of Port Elizabeth and Algoa Bay are half-way districts between the Karroo country of the west and the grass lands of the east, such as Somerset East and Cradock ; and, the further the distance is from the sea, the more the plateau of the Upper Karroo extends towards the east, including the division of Albert with its town of Burghersdorp, and the division of Aliwal North.

The coast districts in the region of Algoa Bay as far east as the Great Fish River, Alexandria, Albany, and Bathurst, are the old border districts of the colony, the scene of the Albany settlement, watered by the Sunday, the Bushman, and the Kowie Rivers. Near the coast is sandy soil with the jungle known as the Addo Bush, and inland too there are tracts of forest, between the Sunday River and the great Fish River, and along the intermediate streams of the Bushman and the Kowie. In Albany is Grahamstown, not so many years ago a border station, now in a sense the capital, though not the commercial centre, of the eastern half of the Cape Colony. Standing 1,800 feet above the sea, with beautiful surroundings, with a fertile soil and an equable climate, easily accessible by rail both from the coast and from the interior, with greater facilities for education than most South African towns possess, it is eminently a home for Englishmen in South Africa. At the last census it had a population of 10,500.

Between the Fish River and the Kei, near the coast, are Peddie, a district with a large native population, Kaffirs who settled down under British rule or were transplanted from other areas, East London, and King Williamstown, the latter a town of over 7,000 inhabitants. In this part of the colony there was a strong German element, dating from the time when the military settlers of the German legion were brought

over to South Africa, but in time it has become largely Anglicised. Behind King Williamstown is the Amatola region, a tract of mountains, woods, and ravines, where for many years the Kaffir tribes held out against the onward movement of European colonisation. The inland divisions between Algoa Bay and the Kei, rising ever towards the north, include Bedford, Fort Beaufort, Stockenström, Victoria East, Stutterheim, Cathcart, Queenstown, Tarkastadt, Dordrecht, Wodehouse, and Barkly East. Sheep-farming is the great industry of these districts, but there is good agricultural land also in parts, and in the north-east, in the Stormberg range, are the only coal-mines of the Cape Colony. The largest town in this area is Queenstown with over 4,000 inhabitants.

The further the Cape Colony extends to the east, the more strongly marked is the main dividing range, rising high in the summits of the Drakensberg, but less definite are the intervening lines of hills or mountains. Thus in the Transkei Territories it is not so easy to distinguish the separate terraces as it is further west. All these territories lie between the main range and the sea, they all slope upwards towards the Drakensberg, they are watered by rivers flowing parallel to each other, they contain a warm coast region, and inland there is broken undulating country, comparatively fertile and well watered. The Transkei Territories have one after another been definitely annexed to the Cape Colony, the last semi-independent district, Pondoland, having been incorporated in the colony in 1894. They include districts which were Fingo and Galeka reserves, Tembuland, Pondoland, on the coast of which is the Port of St. John, and Griqualand East, behind and on a higher level than Pondoland, having its administrative centre at Kokstad. The principal products of these territories are cattle, sheep, and maize, and the population consists almost entirely of natives, superintended by white officers, and influenced by the

mission stations which for many years have been planted among them. The northernmost districts of the Transkei are nearer to and more akin to Natal than to the colony to which they politically belong.

North of the Orange River, on the main plateau of South Africa, are two provinces of the Cape Colony, Griqualand West and British Bechuanaland. Through Griqualand West flows the Vaal River in a south-westerly direction, bringing with it the waters of the Harts River from the north, of the Modder from the east. Griqualand West is for the most part a dry and dusty land, but the find of diamonds has created a large town in the middle of little more than a desert. This is Kimberley on its eastern frontier, standing over 4,000 feet high, and with a population which at the last census numbered nearly 29,000. Beaconsfield, rather over two miles to the south-west, is a suburb of Kimberley, and contains over 10,000 residents. Kimberley has of late been somewhat overshadowed by the gold-mining centres of the Transvaal; but, in addition to its diamond mines, it has importance as the one large town on the railway route from Capetown to the far interior. Twenty miles to the north-west is Barkly West, also connected with the diamond industry; but diamonds here are won not so much from 'dry diggings' as by washing the alluvial soil on the banks of the Vaal. Apart from its one source of mineral wealth, there is little to be said of Griqualand West. Yet its climate is not unhealthy, its soil is not unfruitful, and, where a water supply can be obtained, agriculture prospers.

North and west of the last-named province is British Bechuanaland, the latest acquisition of the Cape Colony, with an estimated area of 51,500 square miles. Its eastern boundary is the frontier of the Transvaal, its western boundary is the 20th meridian of east longitude, which is the frontier line of the German Protectorate. Griqualand West and the Orange River bound it on the south, and

on the north its frontiers are the Nosop or Oup River, the Molopo, and the little stream known as the Ramathlabama Spruit. For purposes of administration there have hitherto been five organised districts in the territory : on the eastern frontier, taken from south to north, Taungs, Vryburg, and Mafeking ; due west of Taungs, Kuruman ; and in the far south-west the Gordonia district, with its centre at Upington upon the Orange River. On the extreme western frontier is an area known as the Mier district, mainly occupied by bastards or half-breeds, the chief settlement in which is Rietfontein, where for many years there has been a station of the Rhenish mission. British Bechuanaland is a section of the central plateau of South Africa, having an average elevation of 4,000 feet above the sea. Its climate is dry and bracing, with a wide range of temperature, the summer days being very hot, the nights in winter very cold. The rainfall in the eastern districts of the territory averages twenty-five inches a year, at Mafeking thirty, the rain falling mainly in the summer months, from November to April ; but on these upland plains evaporation is so rapid that the water supply is not proportioned to the amount of rain which falls. Water is fairly plentiful on the eastern side, and, if not visible on the surface, can usually be obtained by sinking wells ; but further to the west, in the Kalahari desert, a small rainfall, coupled with rapid evaporation, has produced a dry and desert land. Thus the Molopo River, which forms for a long way the northern boundary of the territory, gives high up on its course, where it flows into Bechuanaland out of the Transvaal, a fairly constant supply of water ; but, while its channel reaches the Orange River after a southerly course of very many miles, most of the water which it should contain disappears on its passage through the desert. The principal settlements are consequently in the east. Here are the two towns of the territory, Vryburg and Mafeking, 100 miles apart, both on the railway ; and here are organised

Native Reserves, as at Taungs in the south-eastern corner of the territory, and at Setlagoli, between Vryburg and Mafeking, the total area of demarcated Reserves being nearly 5,000 square miles. Till a few years ago the best-known settlement in the Bechuana region was the missionary settlement of Kuruman, where an unfailing supply of water favoured continuous mission work ; but Kuruman lies westward of the main route to the north, and at a distance from the railway which links Bechuanaland to the rest of the Cape Colony. Taungs and Kuruman are the districts in which the native population is largest, while the Europeans, who at the 1891 census numbered over 5,000 and have since considerably multiplied, are to be found mainly in the districts of Vryburg and Mafeking. Bechuanaland, on its eastern side, consists mainly of grassy uplands, very well adapted for grazing cattle but not so suitable for rearing sheep. Cattle have been in the past the principal product of the territory, but, wherever there is water, grain, fruit, and vegetables grow well ; and, more especially, a considerable quantity of maize is raised. Timber was more plentiful a few years ago than it is at the present day, the trees having been wastefully cut down to be used as fuel at Kimberley. There are indications of mineral wealth in certain districts, especially of coal in the Setlagoli reserve, but no mines have yet been worked, and it is as a pastoral land that Bechuanaland has hitherto prospered in quiet sort. While under the Imperial Government its administration was, to a large extent, paid for by the British tax-payer, but the revenue has been expanding of late years, farmers have come in from over the border and taken up land, and the railway has created trade. As a part of the Cape Colony, the territory bids fair to pay its way, with its two growing townships, its farms and cattle runs, and clans of natives who, under British rule, have known years of peace and lived on allotted ground in security and content.

Such is the Cape Colony, a varied land with a long coast-

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line and great inland plateaus. Its great drawbacks are want of harbours and want of water both for transport and for irrigation. It is in the main a land of pastoral industries. Its towns are few and of no great size. Diamonds and copper represent its mineral resources. The spread of colonisation has depended largely on railways, which have given the needed access to markets and facility of moving in a much divided area from place to place. Railways multiply from year to year, and there are now nearly 3,000 miles of rail open in the colony. The three main lines are the line from Capetown towards the far north, the line from Port Elizabeth towards the Transvaal gold-fields, and the line from East London also towards the gold-fields. The first line from Capetown to Mafeking has a length of 870 miles within the area of the colony. It reaches the Karroo by the Hex River valley; running east and north-east it crosses the great dividing range at Nels Poort, a little beyond Beaufort West; it crosses the Orange River near Hopetown, at a point 570 miles distant from Capetown; and it is carried north through Kimberley and Vryburg. The second line, from Port Elizabeth, runs north through Cradock, Middelburg, and Colesberg: and a little to the north-east of Colesberg it crosses the Orange River into the Orange River Colony, being carried on to Bloemfontein, Johannesburg, and Pretoria. The distance by rail from Port Elizabeth to the Orange River is about 329 miles. The third line, from East London, runs north and north-west through Cathcart, Queenstown, and Burghersdorp. Branching beyond Burghersdorp it reaches the Orange River at two points, at Aliwal North on the east, 280 miles distant by rail from East London, and at the Bethulie Bridge on the west, two or three miles further from East London than is Aliwal North, where the line crosses the river and, in the territory of the Orange River Colony, joins the main line from Port Elizabeth at Springfontein. These three railway routes to the north are con-

ected by cross-lines, the first and second by a line sixty-nine miles long, which leaves the Capetown Railway at De Aar Junction, and, passing by Hanover Road, joins the Port Elizabeth Railway at Naauw Poort; the second and third by a line eighty-three miles long, which leaves the Port Elizabeth Railway at Middelburg Road and joins the East London Railway at Stormberg Junction.

These three trunk lines, with their connecting links, are the basis of the railway system of the colony. Of the more purely local railways the longest is the line from Port Elizabeth to Graaf Reinet through Uitenhage. Its total length is 185 miles, the first seven of which are over the main line. All the leading railways of the colony are owned by the State, though a few of the minor lines—the copper line from Ookiep to Port Nolloth, the line from Worcester to Robertson and Ashton, and the line from Grahamstown to the sea at Port Alfred—belong to private companies¹; and reference to the map will show that, away from Capetown and the adjoining districts, the western half of the colony is wanting in railway communication.

Railway receipts are the largest source of revenue to the Colonial Government. The total revenue of the Cape Colony in 1901-2 (excluding British Bechuanaland) amounted to £9,050,371, to which railway receipts contributed £4,106,998, or nearly one half; and customs duties, including harbour dues, £2,710,118, or about one-third.

In 1900-1 the total revenue amounted to £7,957,499, railway receipts producing £3,668,023, and customs duties £2,376,341. About thirty-five per cent. of the annual revenue is derived from taxation. On December 31, 1901, the total Public Debt of all kinds amounted to £31,393,415,

¹ In 1901, 2,161 miles of rail were owned by the Government, against 822 miles owned by private companies. About two-thirds of the latter were worked by Government.

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and on December 31, 1902, to £36,970,929. British sterling is the currency of the colony.

In 1902 the imports were valued at £32,109,605, out of which the sum of £20,994,095 was credited to the United Kingdom. The exports in the same year, excluding specie, were valued at £16,381,279, of which the exports to the United Kingdom were valued at £15,531,477. The largest export was gold, the product not of the colony but of the Transvaal, the value of which was £5,915,207; and next to gold came the following articles of export:—

Diamonds valued at	£5,427,360
Wool	2,930,227
Ostrich feathers	895,040
Angora hair	770,059
Skins (sheep and goat)	421,240
Copper ore	273,366

The corresponding figures for the year 1901 are as follows:—

Value of total imports	£21,416,160
Value of total exports	10,719,779
Value of imports from the United Kingdom	13,802,877
Value of exports to the United Kingdom	9,934,950

Principal articles of export:—

Gold valued at	£1,225,899
Diamonds	4,930,104
Wool	1,489,246
Ostrich feathers	839,049
Angora hair	502,605
Skins (sheep and goat)	389,218
Copper ore	571,031

It should be noted that during the first months of 1901 the South African War was still continuing, and that even now the gold industry of the Transvaal has not fully recovered. Allowing for this the general conclusion holds good that the colony deals mainly with the mother country, that mineral produce accounts for the greater proportion of its exports, that nearly one-half in value of its exports repre-

sents produce brought from beyond the borders of the colony, and that, of the produce of the colony itself, the larger half in value consists of diamonds and ostrich feathers, which may be deemed articles of luxury.

At the census of 1891 the total population of the Cape Colony was returned at 1,527,224, the colony at that date not including either British Bechuanaland or Pondoland. These returns gave nearly seven persons to the square mile, but the population was and is very unequally distributed, the dwellers in the north-western divisions of the colony—Namaqualand, Calvinia, Carnarvon, Fraserburg, and Prieska—not numbering one to the square mile. Of the total population 376,987, or nearly twenty-five per cent. were white, and 1,150,237, or slightly over seventy-five per cent. were coloured. Of the white population 230,000 approximately were estimated to be of Dutch or Huguenot descent, and 130,000 of British origin. Two centuries before, in 1690-1, the European population of the Cape did not exceed 1,200 to 1,300 all told; and in 1791 the number of Europeans was not larger than 14,000 or 15,000. Of the native population, which also grows in numbers, in 1891, 608,000 were of Kaffir or Bechuana origin; 230,000 were Fingos, also of Kaffir race; 248,000 were returned as of mixed origin; the Hottentots and Bushmen numbered 50,000; and the Malays 14,000. The Malays are a living record of the times of the Netherlands East India Company, and of the close connexion which then existed between the East Indies and the Cape. They are to be found mainly in or near Capetown, and form a large proportion of the fishermen of the colony. In all the districts, outside a few of the towns, the coloured races largely outnumber the whites, but especially is this the case in the territories beyond the Kei, where the white men are little more than one in fifty.

The census of British Bechuanaland in 1891, excluding natives who paid the hut tax, gave a population of 12,736,

of whom over 5,000 were Europeans. The members of the Bechuana clans were estimated to number 60,000, making the total population of the territory, on a very rough estimate, about 73,000. The number of inhabitants in Pondoland has been estimated at 200,000; and the total population therefore, of Cape Colony, as at present bounded, but on the basis of the census returns of 1891, is about 1,800,000.

Of the white population an overwhelming majority are Protestants in religion. The 1891 census showed that in the colony, again excluding British Bechuanaland and Pondoland, nearly 95 per cent. of the whites were Protestants, of whom over 60 per cent. belonged to the Dutch Reformed church, 18½ per cent. were members of the Church of England, nearly 6 per cent. were Wesleyans, and over 3 per cent. were Presbyterians. In the country districts the Dutch Reformed church has far the greatest number of adherents. In some of the principal towns the Church of England is rather the stronger of the two denominations. A very large percentage of natives are classed as of no religion, and among the Kaffirs and Fingos the Wesleyans claim the largest number of native Christians. The Mohammedan community consists principally of the Malays.

Education is very far indeed from being general, as might be expected in a land where natives are so numerous. Three-fourths of the population in 1891 were returned as unable either to read or write; in other words, most of the white inhabitants are to a certain extent educated, but very few of the natives. There is no compulsory system of education, and government support is mainly given in the form of grants in aid. Higher education is provided for by the University of the Cape of Good Hope, an examining body on the lines of London University, and by colleges at Capetown, Rondebosch, Stellenbosch, Port Elizabeth, Grahamstown, Graaf Reinet, and Somerset East. Among missionary institutions, Lovedale, in Victoria East, near the Chumie

River, is a noble memorial to the religious and educational enterprise of the Free Church of Scotland. An education Act was passed in 1865, and at the close of the following year the number of schools in the colony was returned at 392. At the end of the year 1901 there were 2,387 schools in existence, in addition to colleges. Educational work has therefore of late years made good progress in the Cape Colony.

CHAPTER II

BASUTOLAND

BASUTOLAND became British territory, and the Basutos British subjects, on March 12, 1868, under a Proclamation issued on that day by Sir Philip Wodehouse, who was then Governor of the Cape and High Commissioner. Moshesh, the great Basuto leader, to whose courage and statesmanship the Basutos owed their very existence as a people, was still alive at the time, but constant war with the Boers of the Orange Free State had brought him and his followers to the last stage of distress. Two thousand Basuto warriors had been killed, cattle had been carried off, native homes had been broken up and crops destroyed. The tribe was reduced to the position of starving refugees, and nothing could save them but the protection of the British Government, which they had repeatedly implored. That protection was at length given, in spite of the strong protests of the Orange Free State; by the Convention of Aliwal North, signed on February 12, 1869, a new boundary was defined between the Free State and the Basutos' country; and, narrowed in limits, Basutoland was acknowledged by the Boers to be a part of the Queen's dominions¹.

At the time when Sir Philip Wodehouse put forth his Proclamation, it was contemplated to incorporate the Basuto territory with the colony of Natal, but to such a scheme Moshesh objected strongly, preferring annexation to the Cape Colony, and most of all desiring that his country should be kept as a native reserve under the direct control of the High Commissioner. For some two years this third

¹ See Part I, p. 247.

course was adopted, and the Basutos were left very much to themselves under the supervision of an agent of the High Commissioner, who was mainly concerned in keeping peace on the border. The Imperial Government, however, desired that a more permanent arrangement should be made, and that Basutoland should be transferred either to the Cape Colony or to Natal. The question was referred to the Cape Parliament, and eventually that Parliament passed the Basutoland Annexation Act of 1871, by which the territory, whose boundaries were defined in the Act, was declared to be annexed to the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope. At the same time it was provided that the general law of the Cape Colony should not extend to Basutoland, but that the power of making laws for the territory should be vested in the Governor of the Cape.

For some years after the annexation Basutoland prospered, in charge of Colonel Griffith as the governor's agent, though the old chief Moshesh had passed away, leaving none to succeed him of equal character and influence. In 1879 troubles began. Moirosi, a chieftain in the south-eastern corner of the land, defied the officers of the law who had arrested his son, and broke out into open rebellion. Some difficult campaigning ensued, before his mountain stronghold was taken at the end of the year; and, when the fighting was over, a proposal by the colonial government to break up the disturbed district and introduce European settlers gave offence and caused alarm to the other Basuto clans. This discontent was increased in 1880 by a proclamation applying to Basutoland the Cape Peace Preservation Act of 1878, which involved the disarmament of the natives; and an attempt to enforce the Act brought on a general revolt, which spread into the other native territories on the eastern frontier of the Cape Colony. In the war which followed the colonial forces met with little success; and in 1881 the High Commissioner, Sir Hercules Robinson,

arbitrated between the Cape Government and the Basutos, fining the latter 5,000 head of cattle, and ordering compensation to be paid by the tribe in general to those members of it who had not taken part in the uprising and had suffered in consequence. The award was accepted, but its terms were not fully carried out, by the Basuto people; the Cape Government made concessions, disarmament was abandoned, and a constitution was offered to the tribe. Still the Basutos were not reconciled to the colony and its government, and on their side the colonial ministers were tiring of an expensive and thankless charge. Accordingly, as a choice of evils, the Imperial Government consented provisionally to take over charge of the country, provided that the Basutos gave evidence of their desire to remain subjects of the British Crown, that the Orange Free State undertook to co-operate in maintaining the peace of the frontier, and that the Cape Colony agreed to contribute to the cost of administration a sum representing the value of the customs duties on goods imported for use in Basutoland. These conditions were fulfilled by all the parties concerned. A national gathering of the Basutos, held in November, 1883, assented to the change; the Cape Parliament passed an Act for the disannexation of Basutoland from the Cape Colony, undertaking, by the terms of the Act, to pay over a sum not exceeding £20,000 per annum to the Imperial Government¹; and from March 13, 1884, Basutoland became, as it still remains, a British Colony under the direct control of the Crown.

All legislative and executive authority over Basutoland is exercised by the High Commissioner in the name of the King. All laws of the territory are made by Proclamation

¹ This arrangement has now lapsed, and Basutoland, which, in 1891, joined the Customs Union and gave up its share of customs receipts against the Cape contribution, has now become self-supporting, receiving its share of the customs dues.

of the High Commissioner, and all appointments, including those of Resident Commissioner, Assistant Commissioners, and other officers, are made by him in the name and on behalf of His Majesty. Under the High Commissioner there is a Resident Commissioner in the territory, whose headquarters are at Maseru; there are Assistant Commissioners in the different districts, a government secretary, medical officers, and officers of police. The country, however, is governed, as far as possible, through such native organisation as exists, being divided between different clans or groups of the tribe under their different chieftains, and Lerothodi, grandson of Moshesh, being recognised as paramount chief over the whole. A Pitso, or national assembly, is held once a year to discuss and explain matters of common interest.

The law of Basutoland, as enacted by the Proclamations of the High Commissioner, is, as nearly as the circumstances of the country permit, the law in force in the Cape Colony; but native law is administered by the native chiefs in both criminal and civil cases within certain defined limits. No suit to which a European is a party can be adjudicated upon by a native chief, except by consent of all parties concerned. Outside the limits of native jurisdiction, judicial and magisterial authority is vested in the Resident Commissioner, the Assistant Commissioners, and the inspectors of police. An appeal in purely native cases lies to a court composed of the chief who heard the case and of an Assistant Commissioner, and the ultimate court of appeal in all cases¹ is the Resident Commissioner.

Stringent regulations have been enacted for safeguarding Basutoland as a native reserve. Natives domiciled elsewhere in South Africa are not allowed to enter the country without passes, and residents in Basutoland who wish to leave the

¹ Except in cases when a European has agreed to accept the jurisdiction of a native chief. In such a case he is debarred from any right of appeal.

country must also provide themselves with passes. No person is allowed to trade in Basutoland without a licence, and the introduction of spirituous liquors is strictly prohibited.

Basutoland lies between 28.45 and 30.40 south latitude, and between 26.50 and 29.30 east longitude. In shape it is between a quadrilateral and an oval, its line of length being due north-east and south-west. Its extreme length is about 160 miles, and its extreme breadth under 100. Its area is given at 10,293 square miles, being about one-third the size of Natal and two-thirds of the size of Switzerland, a land of high mountains like itself. It is a purely inland territory, lying between the Orange River Colony on the west and north, Natal on the north and east, and the Cape Colony on the east and south. The Caledon River bounds it on the north, and from the sources of the Caledon it is encircled east and south by the Drakensberg mountains. It is in the very heart of the highest mountains of South Africa. Where it borders on Natal are the Mont aux Sources, the Cathkin Peak or Champagne Castle, and the Giant's Castle, all rising to over or to nearly 10,000 feet¹. Turning round the easternmost corner of Basutoland, the main range of the Drakensberg runs due south-west; and within Basutoland, parallel to this main range, run two subsidiary ranges, known as the Maluti mountains. These mountains with their outskirts occupy a large proportion of the total area of the territory.

The chief rivers run south-west, parallel to the mountain ranges. The border river on the northern side is the Caledon, divided near its source into the Great and Little Caledon. Between the two lines of the Maluti mountains runs the main feeder of the Kornet Spruit River, which river joins the Orange River on the south-western boundary of

¹ The exact heights are—Mont aux Sources, 11,170 feet; Cathkin Peak or Champagne Castle, 10,357 feet; Giant's Castle, 9,657 feet.

Basutoland. Between the more southerly range of the Maluti mountains and the main range of the Drakensberg flow the headwaters of the Orange River, for both the Orange River and the Caledon rise among the high mountains which divide Basutoland from Natal. Into the Caledon, the Kornet Spruit, and the Orange River flow smaller streams from either side, their courses being for the most part at right angles to the main mountain ranges and the main river channels.

The greatest extent of comparatively open country is on the northern and western side of the territory, between the Caledon River and the Maluti mountains; the wildest and most completely mountainous districts are in the north-east and east, in the angle of the Drakensberg. The country, as a whole, is a plateau about 6,000 feet high, very rugged, very broken, encircled and intersected by high mountain ranges between which are upland valleys, fertile, well watered, and bare of wood and scrub.

For administrative purposes the territory has been divided into eight districts, each under an Assistant Commissioner. The residencies of four of these districts are on the north-western side of Basutoland. Of these, Butha Buthe is the northernmost district, next to which is Leribe, next to Leribe Berea, and next to Berea Maseru. The other districts are Mafeteng in the west, Kornet Spruit or Mohale's Hoek in the south-west, Quthing in the south, and Qacha's Nek in the extreme east. The chief village and centre of administration is Maseru by the Caledon River, near to the Berea plateau well known in Basutoland history, and to Thaba Bosigo, once the stronghold of Moshesh¹, and over against Ladybrand, in the Orange River Colony. The second village in size and importance is Mafeteng. Lying so high above the sea, Basutoland has a fine bracing climate. The winter, from May to August, is dry, with frosts at night.

¹ See Part I, pp. 190, 221.

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The rain falls principally in the summer time. In the year 1900-1 the average rainfall of the territory was between 29 and 30 inches, but in some years the fall exceeds 40 inches. In the same year the maximum temperature registered 82.5 and the minimum 35.3. The mean annual temperature is about 60°, but at times there is a very wide range of temperature, as much as 50° in the twenty-four hours.

In spite of its mountains, Basutoland is a land of corn and a land of cattle and horses. The soil is good, the grass is rich, and the territory has been hitherto the chief grain-producing area in South Africa. The Basuto horsemen, in the days of Moshesh, played a great part in the annals of South African warfare, and, unlike other natives of South Africa in this respect, the Basutos are at the same time agriculturists to a much greater extent than most of the Kaffir tribes. Coal has been found in the country, together with traces of iron and copper, and the coal is worked to a small extent for local purposes; but Basutoland has hitherto been fortunate, as far as its native inhabitants are concerned, in not having attracted European speculators on the ground of possessing great mineral wealth.

The revenue of the territory has largely increased since it was placed under the control of the Crown. In 1901-2 the total receipts amounted to £104,284. Three-fifths of this total was contributed by the hut tax; and the other principal item is £33,097, earned by customs dues under the South African Customs Union. Among minor items of revenue are licences and post office receipts, though the posts and telegraphs, which are, for accounting purposes, under the Postmaster-General of the Cape Colony, do not yet pay their way. In 1900-1 the revenue amounted to £74,890.

In 1901-2 the total expenditure was £64,810. On this side the heaviest items are the civil establishments and the police; and appreciable sums are laid out year by year

on public works and roads, and on education. There are balances from past years, and the country has no Public Debt. The currency is British sterling.

The trade of Basutoland is almost entirely with the Orange River Colony and the Cape Colony, the heights of the Drakensberg being a barrier to easy communication with Natal. The railway is reached at Winburg or Bloemfontein in the Orange River Colony, and at Aliwal North in the Cape Colony. Telegraph lines have been carried into Basutoland, and both Maseru and Mafeteng have now telegraphic communication with Capetown. The imports are mainly goods from the United Kingdom, supplied through the ports of the Cape Colony. In the list of exports wheat stands first, bought for consumption in the neighbouring territories, and representing in value more than half the amount of the total exports. Mealies or maize take the second place, wool the third, and among minor articles of export are Kaffir corn, mohair, cattle, and horses.

At the census of 1891 the population of Basutoland numbered 218,902, of whom 218,144 were aboriginal natives, and 578 Europeans. The most populous districts were those of Leribe, Maseru, and Mafeteng. The native population has since increased rapidly, by immigration as well as by natural increase, and in 1902 the total population was estimated at about 262,600 natives and 647 whites. There is now a danger of over-population, as the habitable and cultivable area is limited. Land which was formerly reserved for grazing is being ploughed up, and the live stock which, like the population, has largely increased in numbers, is deteriorating from want of sufficient pasturage. The same pressure of population upon the land tends to keep alive, and sometimes to embitter, the intertribal disputes which are the bane of Basutoland. Questions of chieftainship and inheritance, and of demarcation of land between different clans and families, absorb much of the attention of the

Resident Commissioner and his officers, and the more the land is taken up the more such disputes are likely to recur. For, progressive and industrious as the Basutos are—beyond any other natives in South Africa—they are conservative and tenacious as regards their country, their land claims, and their tribal customs, suspicious of interference, and quarrelsome towards one another. They are not an easy people to influence and control; they make money in and out of their own land; they accumulate wealth and property, and know its value; they are essentially native owners, and jealously guard their own. To keep the peace, to prohibit drunkenness, to facilitate trade by improving and multiplying roads and other means of communication, to promote industrial education, for which a demand has arisen among the natives themselves, to improve the breed of the livestock, and to induce better methods of agriculture, these are at the present time the main objects of the administration¹.

Missionary influence has for many years been strong in Basutoland, indeed missionaries played no small part, as friends and advisers of Moshesh, in consolidating his power and organising his people. The chief mission agency has been the Paris Evangelical Mission Society, which, according to the census returns of 1891, claimed an average Sunday attendance of 13,450, against an attendance of 1,860 at Roman Catholic places of worship, and 1,080 at the missions of the Church of England. Morija, in the west of Basutoland between Maseru and Mafeteng, is the head station of the French Protestants. Out of 197 schools in the territory only two are undenominational schools belonging to the Government; all the others are connected with the missionary societies, and are in receipt

¹ It is a sign of the progress which is being made that agricultural shows have been held with success at the magisterial stations in Basutoland.

of grants in aid, the very large majority having been established by the French Protestant missionaries. Attention is given to industrial training for boys and girls alike, and a number of boys are sent by the Government to be trained as artisans at the Lovedale institution in the Cape Colony.

If growth of population, and increase of pastoral and agricultural wealth, are a sure index to the progress being made by a native community, then Basutoland has thriven in a very marked degree under the control of the British Government. The success which has been attained is the result of tact and good management on the part of the officers in charge, who have won the confidence of the natives, and governed them through their recognised chiefs as arbitrators and advisers rather than as white men lording it over black. Basutoland is a country with turbulent elements, where in a limited space native difficulties are constantly arising, not easy to adjust ; but, owing to the influence which a very few British officers have exercised over the mountaineers of South Africa, the territory affords pleasing evidence of the extent to which native races, when wisely handled, grow in numbers and in substance under European supervision.

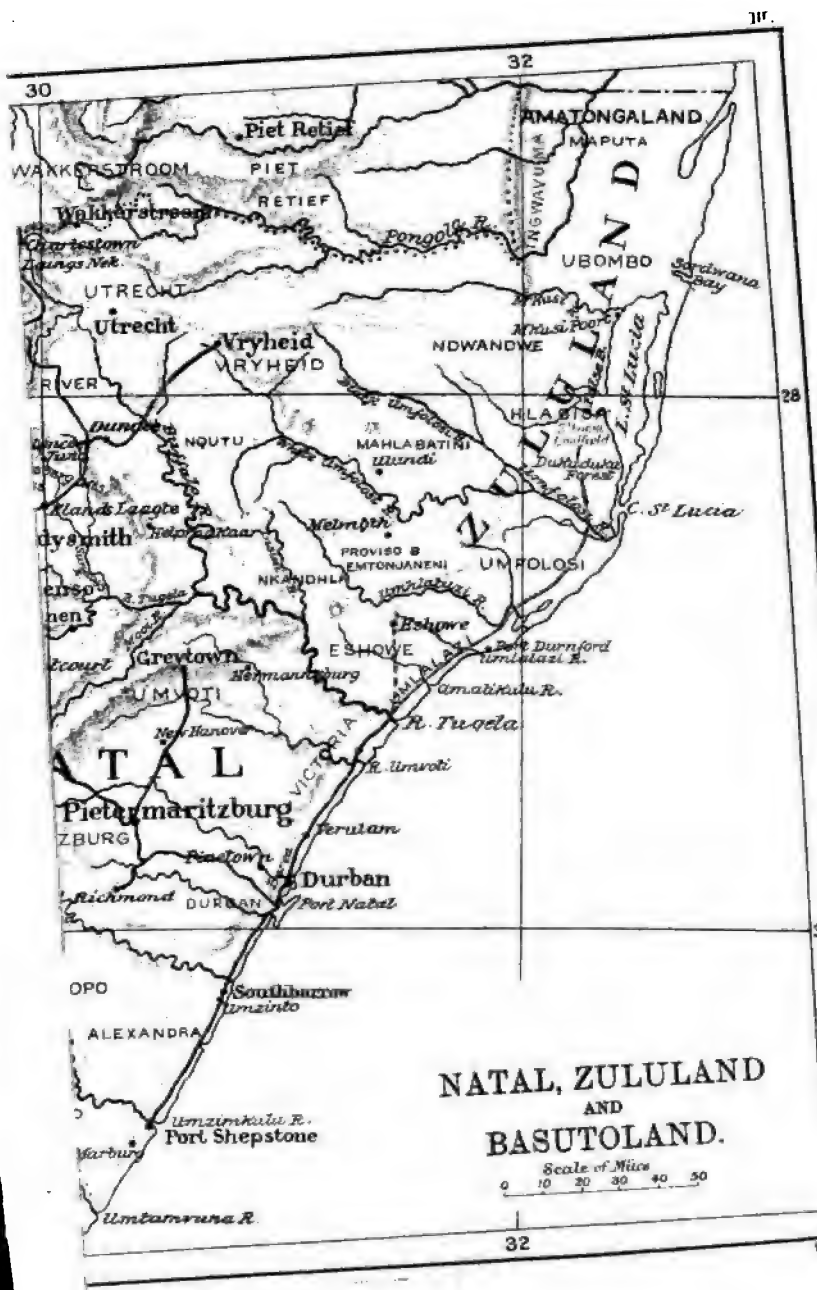
CHAPTER III

NATAL (INCLUDING ZULULAND AND TONGALAND)

Part I. NATAL PROPER

ON the Eastern coast of South Africa, on the outer slope of the Drakensberg mountains, and between those mountains and the Indian Ocean, lies the colony of Natal. Like the Cape Colony it is a self-governing colony, complete self-government having been granted in 1893. The Legislature consists of the Governor, a nominated Legislative Council, and an elected Legislative Assembly. The Legislative Council is composed of twelve members, nominated by the Governor on the advice of his ministers, and distributed between the eight¹ counties into which the colony is divided. The twelfth member represents the Province of Zululand. A member of the Legislative Council must be thirty years of age, a resident in the colony of ten years' standing, and possessed of immovable property within the colony to the net value of £500. He holds his seat for ten years. The Legislative Assembly consists of thirty-nine members, elected by ballot to represent fifteen constituencies. The qualification for membership of the Assembly is the same as the electoral qualification. Electors must be twenty-one years of age, and possess immovable property to the value of £50, or rent such property to the annual value of £10, or have resided three years in the colony with an income of not less than £96 per annum. The life of the Assembly lasts for four years, if it is not previously dissolved by the Governor. Members of the Council and Assembly are not paid, but are entitled to a travelling allowance.

¹ Apart from the new districts of Vryheid and Utrecht.



The executive power is in the hands of the Governor and his Executive Council, the latter consisting of the Ministers for the time being. They are not more than six in number, and may sit and speak in either House, but vote only in the House of which they are members. Under the Constitution Act a Civil List is reserved, one item in which is the sum of £10,000, to be devoted annually to promoting the welfare and education of the natives.

The towns of Durban, Pietermaritzburg, Newcastle, Ladysmith, and Dundee have Municipal Councils, and there are Local Boards at Verulam and Greytown. The Port of Durban is under the management of a Harbour Department, presided over by the Minister of Lands and Works.

Roman Dutch law is the basis of the legal system of the colony, supplemented by the ordinances passed by the colonial legislature. The law is administered by a Supreme Court consisting of a Chief Justice and three Puisne Judges, and by Resident Magistrates. In ordinary criminal matters the natives are amenable to the criminal law of the colony; offences of a political character or connected with native law or custom, and all civil actions between natives living under native law, are now tried by the Supreme Court of the colony, or, subject to the jurisdiction of that court, by officers styled Administrators of native law.

The northernmost point of Natal is in about 27.20 degrees of south latitude, its southernmost point is just beyond the thirty-first parallel. On the east it touches 31.30 east longitude, and on the west 28.50 east longitude, the source and the mouth of the Tugela River being respectively the westernmost and easternmost points. The territory, inclusive of Zululand, has an extreme length from north to south of about 250 miles, and an extreme breadth from west to east of about 160. The length of its coast-line is 376 miles (Natal, 166 miles, province of Zululand, 210 miles), and it has an

area of over 29,000 square miles (Natal, 18,750 square miles, province of Zululand, over 10,400 square miles). Its size is therefore nearly that of Scotland, or, to compare other British colonies, somewhat larger than Ceylon or Tasmania. On the east it is bounded by the Indian Ocean, on the north by the Portuguese possessions and the Transvaal, on the west by the Orange River Colony and Basutoland, on the south-west and south by the Cape Colony. Thus this small colony abuts on nearly all the other South African colonies¹.

The coast-line of Natal, like that of the Cape Colony, is somewhat wanting in natural harbours. Many rivers run into the sea within its borders, but few have navigable estuaries. The main port² is the port of Durban, which, till a few years ago, was always known as Port Natal. It has the great advantage of being in the centre of the coast-line. It consists of a shallow land-locked bay with an area of between seven and eight square miles. The entrance faces north-east; on its southern side is the Bluff of Natal, as it is called, over 200 feet high, and on its northern side is a low-lying tongue of land, known as Sandy Point or the Point. A bar of sand runs across the mouth, and has in past times prevented ships of any size from entering the bay; but much has of late years been done by dredging and by the construction of breakwaters on either side, which narrow the entrance to about a quarter of a mile in breadth, to deepen the water-way and make it available for large vessels. On the north side of the bay stands Durban, the largest town in the colony. The centre of the town is nearly two miles from the Point, and it is overlooked on

¹ It should be noticed that certain territories hitherto forming part of the Transvaal have now been annexed to Natal. These include the districts of Vryheid and Utrecht and part of Wakkerstroom, with an area of from 7,000 to 8,000 square miles.

² A small port, Port Shepstone, is also coming into being in Alfred county, at the mouth of the Umzimkulu River, where, as at Durban, there is a bar to be dredged.

the western—the mainland side by the wooded Berea Hills, the slopes of which form a residential suburb of the town.

Durban is about 930 statute miles distant from Cape-town, 1,760 from Mauritius, 300 from Delagoa Bay, and 1,830 from Zanzibar.

The land of Natal, like South Africa generally, rises in terraces from the sea. Durban is nearly at the sea level. Pinetown, seventeen miles inland, stands 1,100 feet above the sea. Pietermaritzburg, seventy miles by rail from Durban, is 2,200 feet above the sea. Seventy-five miles by rail to the north-west of Pietermaritzburg, Estcourt stands 3,800 feet high. Ladysmith, forty-four miles further north than Estcourt, is on a somewhat lower level, though well over 3,000 feet. Beyond Ladysmith, on the west the Van Reenen pass, over the Drakensberg into the Orange River Colony, is 5,500 feet high; and on the north, Charles-town, near the frontier of the Transvaal, stands on a level of nearly 5,400 feet.

In the centre of the western frontier of the colony the Drakensberg mountains rise to their highest level, their peaks being loftier than any other mountain tops in South Africa. The Giant's Castle and the Mont aux Sources, both on the boundary line between Natal and Basutoland, are respectively over 9,000 and over 11,000 feet high, while just beyond the boundary and within Basutoland the Cathkin Peak or Champagne Castle rises to over 10,000 feet. The Mont aux Sources, the highest of the three peaks, stands in an angle of the frontier, and from this point to the extreme north of the colony the same line of mountains runs due north-east at a somewhat lower level than before, the summits being in no case as high as 8,000 feet. From the Drakensberg subsidiary ranges run across the colony towards the east, the north-east, or the south-east. Such are the Biggarsberg Mountains, which cut off the northernmost

corner of Natal—the Newcastle district—from the rest of the colony; the Mooi River heights, which can be traced in a north-easterly direction from the Giant's Castle to the valley of the Tugela; and two other ranges which also start from the Giant's Castle, and, dividing at Spion Kop, run in the one case across the Umvoti county to the lower Tugela, in the other, in a south-easterly direction to the sea, ending in the Berea Hills behind Durban. Thus the main mountain system of Natal consists of the Drakensberg, with transverse ranges running out from it like the fingers of a hand; but there are also isolated groups of mountains in the colony, such as the Ingeli mountains in the extreme south-west, and the Mahwaqa mountains in the west, and single mountain tops which in Natal, as in Zululand, stand out on the landscape as solitary beacons.

Natal is a well-watered land. Its rivers are many, but most of them are of little use for purposes of navigation. The largest is the Tugela, which rises on the slopes of the Mont aux Sources¹, and flows for 200 miles before it reaches the sea, draining, with its tributaries, nearly half the colony. It begins with a waterfall and ends with a bar, and for many miles of its course it is a strong stream flowing in rocky ravines. Among its feeders are the Buffalo, the Klip River, the Sunday's River, and the Bushman and Mooi Rivers. Of the other river systems in the colony the two largest are the Umzimkulu and the Umkomaas.

Natal is divided into ten counties, and the province of Zululand. On the coast, taken from north to south, are Victoria, the chief settlement in which is Verulam, founded by Wesleyan colonists from St. Alban's; Durban; Alexandra, containing the settlement of Umzinto; and Alfred, a border

¹ The Mont aux Sources was well named by the French missionaries in Basutoland. From it the Tugela flows in one direction, and the Caledon in another.

district on the south, which was annexed to Natal in 1866, and whose administrative centre is the inland village of Harding. Behind the four coast counties are the two midland counties of Umvoti and Pietermaritzburg; Umvoti on the north-eastern side of Natal, with Greytown for its centre; and Pietermaritzburg in the centre and south. At the back of these two counties is Weenen, taking its name from the village of that name¹, and having Estcourt within its borders; while beyond the Tugela is Klip River county, containing the towns or villages of Ladysmith, Dundee, Helpmakaar, Newcastle, and Charlestown. In the north, facing the Transvaal, are the two new counties of Utrecht and Vryheid.

Natal is nearer to the tropics than the southern portion of the Cape Colony, and the climate of Durban is warmer than that of Capetown; but in both colonies the main factor in determining the climate is the height of a given place above the sea. In Natal there are the coast districts, the midlands, and the uplands of the north and north-west. The climate of the coast is sub-tropical, warm, and moist, the average annual temperature at Durban being 69° to 70°, and the average annual rainfall about 40 inches. At Pietermaritzburg, over 2,000 feet higher than Durban, the average annual temperature and rainfall are both somewhat lower, the temperature being 64° to 65°, and the rainfall 37 to 38 inches. Higher up again, on the slopes of the Drakensberg, the climate is dry and bracing, very hot under the summer sun, cold at night-time. Throughout the colony the summer season, from October to March, contributes three-quarters of the rainfall; there is a wide range of temperature, and the amount of rain varies very greatly from year to year.

On the lowlands, by the coast, subtropical products thrive. Natal is one of the sugar-growing colonies, and as such is

¹ See Part I, pp. 195, 197.

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one of the colonies where East Indian coolies form an important element in the population. This is perhaps its most distinctive feature as compared with other South African territories. In the counties of Victoria, Durban, and Alexandra, notably in Victoria and in the Umzinto district in Alexandra, there are some 28,500 acres under sugar cultivation. In these same coast counties a little coffee is grown, and an increasing amount of tea. The cultivation of cotton, from which much was hoped in the earlier days of the colony, has practically ceased, but there is hardly any tropical product which cannot be raised in the lowlands of Natal. Of grain crops, maize is universal throughout the colony, and wheat, barley, and oats are grown on the higher levels, the acreage under oats being much larger than that under wheat or barley; but, if maize and Kaffir corn be excepted, Natal can hardly claim to be as yet a grain-producing colony. All kinds of fruits and vegetables are grown, tropical and subtropical, as well as those which belong to the temperate zones; and some good timber is still to be found, though the forests have been largely cut down. The Black Wattle is being extensively planted, and its bark, which is used in tanning, has become an established article of export.

Natal has the advantage of great variety of climate within a comparatively limited area, and, as far as the fruits of the earth are concerned, the number of its products is out of all proportion to the size of the territory. But its wealth has hitherto been mainly derived from pastoral industries, and the list of exports shows that wool is still the most important product of the colony, though not so important as once it was. The sheep farms are in the midland and upland districts, in the counties of Pietermaritzburg, Umvoti, Weenen, and Klip River; and on the higher and drier lands of Weenen and Klip River angora goats are pastured. Cattle are found everywhere, but principally in the inland

counties. They are valued for transport purposes, their hides are exported, and dairy farming is being carried on to an increased extent.

Natal contains a large coal-field, in the Klip River county at the northern end of the colony, the mining centres being Dundee and Newcastle¹. Gold is found in the Tugela valley and at Umzinto. Silver, copper, lead, and iron ore all exist within the colony, and in the south, on the Umzimkulu River, is a field of white marble.

The commercial prosperity of Natal, however, depends largely on the trade which passes through its territory to and from the lands which lie beyond the mountain barrier. No country has profited more by railway communication, and it was an important era in the history of the colony when, towards the end of 1895, the railway between the port of Durban and the Johannesburg gold-fields was at length finally completed. In 1860 a little line was opened between the Point and Durban town, afterwards carried on to Umgeni village; and for many years this was the only railway in the colony. On January 1, 1876, a beginning was made of the line to Pietermaritzburg, which was opened in 1880. That line is now carried on into the Orange River Colony on the north-west: into the Transvaal on the north. The dividing point is Ladysmith, 190 miles from Durban. The line to the Orange River Colony runs for thirty-six miles from Ladysmith to the Van Reenen pass, where it crosses the Drakensberg, and leaving Natal reaches Harrismith, sixty miles distant from Ladysmith. The other line runs north-east and north from Ladysmith, past Glencoe Junction, whence a short branch is carried for eight miles to Dundee and its coal-fields, past Newcastle, until just beyond Charlestown, 304 miles from Durban, it crosses the frontier and takes its way through the Transvaal to Johannesburg

¹ Newcastle does not take its name from the coal-field, but is called after the Duke of Newcastle, formerly Secretary of State for the Colonies.

and Pretoria, the distance from Durban to Johannesburg being 483 miles. This is the main railway thoroughfare of Natal; but along the coast two lines run north and south from Durban, the northern line to Tugela River at the border of the province of Zululand, a distance of about 69 miles. It is being continued through Zululand to the St. Lucia coal-field. Another branch line runs south along the coast to Port Shepstone, a distance of 77 miles, and there are other branches from the main line of railway. In all there are over 620 miles of rail open in Natal, nearly all belonging to the Government, and connecting the sea level with a height of 5,500 feet.

The currency of Natal is British currency. In the year 1900-1, the revenue of the colony amounted to £2,970,742, and in the year ending 1899-1900, to £1,886,710. The chief items of the revenue are railway receipts, and customs duties. These produced in 1900-1—

Railway receipts	£1,579,919
Customs	699,999

Railway receipts will in normal years show a large increase, owing to the fact that there is through communication between Durban and the gold-fields of the Rand.

On June 30, 1900, the net Public Debt of the colony was somewhat over nine millions sterling, and on June 30, 1901, it was a little over ten and a half millions.

The imports by sea for the year ending June 30, 1900, were valued at £5,911,518, out of which imports to the value of £3,725,589, or nearly two-thirds, came from the United Kingdom. The exports for the same year were valued at £917,244, the exports to the United Kingdom being valued at only £163,719, owing to the South African War. For the year ending June 30, 1901¹, the corresponding figures were as follows:—

¹ These figures are given as the most recent available, but their value, though to less extent than those of the preceding year, is impaired by the fact that the South African war did not end till 1902.

Total value of imports by sea	£9,555,750
Value of imports from United Kingdom	6,523,129
(about two-thirds of total)	
Total value of exports	2,064,917
Value of exports to United Kingdom	973,132
(somewhat less than half of total)	

Taking a period of years there appears some falling off in the proportion of trade with the United Kingdom.

The chief products of the colony which are exported are wool, sugar, coal, silver ore, and hides.

Their value in 1901 was as follows :—

Wool	£253,938
Sugar	113,935
Coal (bunker)	348,991
„ (cargo)	60,735
Wattle bark	69,850
Hides	33,437

The export of wool has greatly declined of late years. On the other hand the export of some minor products, such as wattle bark, fruit, and tea, is rising in value. One important article of export, viz. gold¹, is not included in the list given above. It is Transvaal gold—not the produce of the colony; but this export has now become of great importance, as Durban is now no longer only the harbour of Natal, it has also, for practical purposes, become a port of the Transvaal.

The population of Natal, according to the census returns of 1891, numbered in that year 543,913, or rather under twenty-seven to the square mile. The white population, including soldiers and sailors, numbered 46,788; the East Indians, 41,142; while the estimated number of natives was 455,983. The natives, therefore, outnumbered the whites in the proportion of more than nine to one, and the total coloured population exceeded the white population by more than ten to one, the excess of coloured over white men

¹ Owing to the War there was of course little output of gold in these years, but the general statement holds good.

being much larger than in the Cape Colony. In 1901 the population was estimated to consist of 63,821 Europeans, 786,912 natives, and 74,385 Indians. The town population of Natal is small. The two largest towns are Durban and Pietermaritzburg, the former having at the present time a population of about 57,000, of whom nearly 15,000 are natives and about 14,000 Indians, and Pietermaritzburg about 30,000. The strongest element numerically in the white population is British, predominating more especially in the towns. In the interior the farmers are mainly of Dutch extraction. Not a few Germans have found a home in the colony, and such names as New Germany, Hermannsburg, New Hanover, and Kirchdorf bear witness to German settlement; while at Marburg, in Alfred county, a small colony of Norwegians has been established. The East Indians, over 74,000 in number, are the result of the indentured coolie system. In 1860 coolies were first imported to work under contract on the sugar plantations, and, as has been the case also in the West Indies and to a phenomenal extent in Mauritius, many of these East Indian labourers, having once arrived, have elected to stay. In 1891 the number of Indians in the colony not under terms of indentured service was 30,000, as against 11,000 indentured coolies, the large majority living in the warm coast districts where their labour is most in demand.

The bulk of the native population of Natal is to be found in the native locations in various parts of the colony. These locations include in all an area not far short of 4,000 square miles. Especially on the eastern frontier towards Zululand, in the Umvoti county and on the lower Tugela, the native clans are strong. In the locations they live under their own chiefs, and to a large extent under their own laws and customs, but are supervised by European officers. There are many tribes, all of Kaffir origin, some indigenous to the soil, not a few immigrants since the days when Chaka and

his Zulu warriors laid the land desolate, and a large proportion are Zulus or closely akin to the Zulus.

The various religious denominations are represented in Natal, including the Church of England, somewhat divided since the days of Bishop Colenso, the Dutch Reformed Church, Wesleyans, Roman Catholics, and other sects. The native population is mainly heathen, but mission stations are numerous among them, the area of mission lands in the colony being over 280 square miles.

Education is under the management of a Minister of Education. It is not compulsory, but is free for the children of the poor. There are government schools and aided schools; farmhouse centres in the country districts, where the settlers' families are too few and scattered for the maintenance of a regular school; schools for natives, and schools for Indian immigrants. Higher education is provided for by High Schools at Durban and Pietermaritzburg. In 1901 there were 506 schools in the colony under government inspection, only thirty-two of which, including the two High Schools, were purely government schools, the rest being in receipt of grants in aid. The aggregate attendance was 27,113, of whom 12,509 were Europeans educated at 277 schools, fifty-nine of which were 'fixed' schools and 189 farm centres; 11,071 were natives, educated at 196 schools; and 3,533 were East Indians, educated at thirty-three schools. In addition there were estimated to be about 1,600 European children taught privately or at schools not in receipt of a government grant.

Part II. ZULULAND AND TONGALAND

Up to the year 1898 Zululand was a Crown Colony of the strictest type. The Governor of Natal, appointed by the Crown, was Governor also of Zululand, and legislated for Zululand by Proclamation. There was no Legislative or Executive Council. The territory was administered by a Resident Commissioner, acting under the immediate instructions of the Governor. The Resident Commissioner was also Chief Magistrate, and under him there were Resident Magistrates in the different districts. At the present time Zululand is governed as a Province of Natal under a Chief Magistrate and Resident Magistrates, reporting to the Colonial authorities. Natal law is in force, so far as it is applicable to the circumstances of Zululand; but among the natives native law and custom prevails, and the authority of the chiefs over their respective tribes or clans is recognised.

The Province of Zululand is bounded on the south by the Tugela and Buffalo Rivers, on the west and north-west as to its main portion by the county of Vryheid, the Transvaal and Swaziland, on the north by Portuguese territory (Amatongaland being now included in the Province), and on the east by the Indian Ocean. The territory is very irregular in shape. It stretches furthest inland along the frontier of Klip River and Utrecht counties, the Nqutu district running out in a north-westerly direction into the Transvaal as far as the Blood River, a remnant of Zululand as it once was, before the country was dismembered and a large portion of its interior incorporated in the Vryheid district of the South African Republic, which is now annexed to Natal. On the north, too, another peninsula runs out in a due northerly direction, west of the Pongola River, and between Swaziland and Amatongaland, meeting Portuguese territory at the Usutu or Maputa River. This

district includes the native territories annexed in 1895. The southernmost point of Zululand, the mouth of the Tugela River, is in about $29^{\circ} 12'$ south latitude, and its northernmost point is a little south of 26.30 south latitude. Its extreme length is between 180 and 190 miles. Its greatest breadth inland, in the Nqutu district, is about 100 miles, and in the centre of the territory, from seventy to eighty miles. The length of its coast-line may be taken very roughly to be between 160 and 170 miles. The area of the whole territory is, approximately, about 10,450 square miles, being about five-ninths of the size of the rest of Natal.

In Zululand, as elsewhere in South Africa, the land rises from the coast towards the interior, but the geographical features are not so distinctly marked as, for instance, in Natal. A large proportion of the whole territory is coast region, low-lying and alluvial. Towards the north this coast-belt widens out and stretches further inland, becoming at the same time, as it nears the tropics, hotter and more unhealthy. A great part of it, amounting to about a quarter of the whole of Zululand, is, owing to malaria and cattle sickness, uninhabited. Inside this plain there is higher ground, with lines or groups of hills rising to about 2,000 feet, and behind them the country rises again towards the high veld of the Transvaal; but except in the south, where the territory runs far inland, British Zululand hardly touches the main South African plateau.

The actual coast is fringed by sand-hills, mostly covered with bush, inside which is the plain already referred to. There is no harbour, almost the only landing place being Port Durnford, in the southern part of the territory, between the mouths of the Umlalazi and Umhlatazi Rivers, where a small stream runs down a ravine into the sea, ending in a sandy surf-beaten beach only available in fine weather. From Port Durnford the coast-line runs due north-east to Cape St. Lucia, near the mouth of the Umfolosi River, where

it turns more towards the north outside the large lagoon known as Lake St. Lucia. This lake is separated from the open sea by a strip of land, whose average breadth is three miles, with sand-hills rising to a height of from 300 to 500 feet. About half-way in its course, but nearer the southern than the northern end, is a further inlet known as False Bay. St. Lucia Lake is about thirty-five miles in length, with an average breadth of ten miles. It is little more than a muddy swamp, nine to ten feet deep, fed by various rivers, unhealthy, and hardly accessible. Its area has been estimated at 680 square miles. Its opening to the sea is at its southern end, by St. Lucia Bay and St. Lucia River, the river being a channel, about twelve miles long, parallel to the sea, with an opening entirely blocked by sand in the dry season, and in time of flood obstructed by breakers on a shallow and impossible bar. At the southernmost corner of the lake is a tract of dense bush, known as the Dukuduku forest, covering an area of 130 square miles, a mixture of swamp and reeds, a refuge in time of war, but not a living place for either white or black men. Immediately north of St. Lucia Bay is the inlet known as Sordwana Bay. It is not a bay, but merely an opening in the coast which communicates with two small and shallow lagoons, useless for any purposes of communication between land and sea. Thus the coast-line of Zululand is very unfavourable. Where there are not regular cliffs there are sand-hills, and where there are openings and river mouths they are blocked with sand, and, in the north, lead only into swamps.

There is a large number of rivers in the territory. Most of them have short courses, and most of them vary between torrents in the rainy season and little more than rivulets in the dry. Inland, as they come down from the mountains, they flow with a strong current in deep channels, and when they reach the coast level, the majority of them lose themselves in marsh and lagoon. The southernmost and largest

is the Tugela, the border river between Zululand and Natal. North of the Tugela are the Amatikulu, the Umlalazi, and the Umhlatuzi, the last-named river flowing into a small lagoon, a little north of Port Durnford. Next comes the Umfolosi, the main river of central Zululand, formed by the confluence, at a point thirty miles from the coast, of a northern tributary, the Black Umfolosi, and a southern tributary, the White Umfolosi. The combined streams flow into the southernmost extremity of St. Lucia Lake. In the north of Zululand are two rivers, which rise in the Transvaal and cross the line of the Ubombo mountains. The more southerly of the two, the Mkusi, flows west and east and enters the northern end of St. Lucia Lake. The other, the Pongola, after crossing the Ubombo range, flows almost due north until it joins the Maputa River running into Delagoa Bay.

The Zululand rivers, with the exception of the Pongola, flow west and east. The mountains are difficult to define and describe. With the exception of the Ubombo or the Lebombo mountains, they are not so much mountain ranges, as groups of high land, with here and there isolated tops such as the Isandhlwana hill. The Ubombo mountains form a distinct line, running due north and south, and separating the northern end of Zululand from Swaziland and from the Transvaal. Their height does not exceed 2,000 feet; they are more precipitous on the western than on the eastern side; and below the Mkusi Poort, where the Mkusi River finds its way through the range, they slope away in undulating ground into the plain which surrounds the St. Lucia Lake. Further south, and near the frontier of the Transvaal, are the Ubani hills; and to the south again, in the Ndwandwe district, there is a short range of hills or mountains known as the Nongoma range, like the Ubombo, running north and south and more precipitous on the western side than on the east. Below the headwaters of

the White Umfolosi are the Emtanjaneni hills on the western frontier, while near the sea, behind Port Durnford, are the Ingoye hills, well wooded on their upper levels. Again, further south, where British Zululand stretches furthest into the interior, there are several clusters of mountains or hills, one behind the other. On the inland side of Eshowe are the Entumeni hills, rising to nearly 3,000 feet. Immediately behind them are the Nkandhla uplands, rising to a height of 4,500 feet, thickly wooded in parts, having deep ravines and flat-topped hills with precipitous sides, the hitherto almost impenetrable strongholds of native clans. North-west of this difficult broken country, near the junction of the Tugela and Buffalo Rivers, are the Kyudeni hills, also forest-clad and rising to a height of from 4,500 to 5,000 feet; while furthest inland is the Nqutu range, running east and west across the innermost district of the territory, and cutting the communication with Vryheid and Utrecht, now a part of Natal. Zululand, in short, may be said to consist of plain and swamp near the sea, most extensive in the north; of hill slopes and valleys of rivers inside the plain; and, on the inner frontier, of high table-land, more or less open except in the south, where the mountains are highest, the country is most broken up, and the forests are most extensive.

The districts into which Zululand is divided for magisterial and administrative purposes are, in the south, the Nqutu district which is furthest inland, the Nkandhla district, the Eshowe district, and the district of Umlalazi. All these districts border on Natal, separated from it by the Tugela and Buffalo Rivers. Next come the two districts of central Zululand, the Emtanjaneni district inland bordering on Vryheid, and the Lower Umfolosi district touching the sea. North of these two districts are the districts of Mhlabatini, Ndwandwe and Hlabisa, and further north again is the Ubombo district, and the district formed out of the annexed Trans-Pongola territories, which bears the name

of Ingwavuma. Within the limits of the Emtongjaneni district, between the upper waters of the Umhlatuzi and the White Umfolosi Rivers, and abutting on the Vryheid district of the colony, was the area known as Proviso B. It was a part of Zululand in which Boer farmers had established themselves between the years 1882 and 1886; and when, in the last-named year, it was excluded from what was then the New Republic, but was till recently the Vryheid district of the Transvaal, the Boer occupants were, by a special proviso, left in undisturbed possession of their farms subject to a nominal quit rent¹.

The chief township in Zululand is Eshowe, and the only other township in the territory, deserving the name, is Melmoth in the Emtongjaneni district. The two are connected by the main road of Zululand, which enters from Natal by the lower Tugela drift, is carried north and north-west by a somewhat circuitous route, now being rectified, through Eshowe and Melmoth, passes due north through the Ndwandwe district, and finally enters the Transvaal. There are other roads in existence, a coast road in the lowlands, and, far inland, roads that start from Rorke's Drift, and a railway is in course of construction to the St. Lucia coal-fields: but Zululand is still in its infancy as an organised colony, and it has yet to reap the advantages of good communication by road and rail, of easy gradients over its mountains, and bridges over its rivers. It may be added that Ulundi, the old royal kraal, is situated a little to the north of the White—the southern Umfolosi, and that the valleys drained by the two Umfolosi rivers, together with the hills and ravines of the Nkandhla district, may be taken as having been in the past the special strongholds of the Zulu race.

A report on the forests of Zululand by Colonel Cardew,

¹ See Part I, p. 303 note.

published early in 1891¹, divides them into high timber forest, thorn bush, and coast forest. The finest high timber forests are in the south, on the Kyudeni, Nkandhla, and Ingoye hills, and in the neighbourhood of Eshowe. They contain yellow wood and hard timber of various kinds, such as is found in Natal also, but the valuable trees at the time when the report was written had been sadly diminished by indiscriminate felling. The thorn bush or mimosa trees grow on lower levels, in the valleys, and clothing the banks of the rivers; while the coast forests, stunted in size but with a dense undergrowth and interspersed with palms, are found in patches along the sand-hills which line the coast, and near the mouths of the rivers, the most extensive tract of this bush or forest being the Dukuduku.

The climate of the coast districts in Zululand is semi-tropical, and, owing to the prevalence of swamp and lagoon, malarious and unhealthy—more so than is the case with the coast country in Natal. The highlands are far healthier, often very cold and bleak in the winter season, from March to September, which is also the dry season. The prevailing wind is from the south-east, but now and again a hot wind from the north-west blows over the inland districts. In the summer season thunderstorms are frequent, and heavy rains make the rivers impassable.

The soil of the country, except in the coast-belt, is not rich. The Zulus are a pastoral people, and their main wealth has hitherto consisted in cattle; but a kind of cattle disease, especially in the lowlands, has of late years diminished their stock. Sheep thrive on the highlands, though grass is often scarce in winter, and near the coast in the south of Zululand, outside the zone of bush and swamp. The area under cultivation has increased of late years, losses in cattle having induced the Zulus, especially near the Natal frontier, to pay more attention to tilling the ground. They are taking to

¹ Colonial Reports, Miscellaneous, No. 2, C. 6,270-1, April, 1891.

the use of the plough, whereas till recent years cultivation was confined to small garden plots broken up by Kaffir hoes in the hands of women¹. A drawback to agriculture is, however, the occasional appearance of swarms of locusts. The crops, such as they are, consist chiefly of maize, Kaffir corn or millet, sweet potatoes, and tobacco. The same sub-tropical products that are grown on the coast-line in Natal can be grown also in the southern coast districts of Zululand, but hitherto the land has not been opened for planting industries under European management.

Mining is making way in Zululand, gold and coal having both been found in considerable quantities. The gold-fields contain alluvial gold as well as gold-bearing quartz reefs and banket beds. There are gold-fields in the north-west of Zululand, viz. the Nondweni gold-fields in the Nqutu district; in the west near Ulundi, and near Melmoth in the Emtongjaneni district, and on the upper waters of the Umhlatuzi and Insuzi Rivers in the Nkandhla district, the gold being mainly found not far from the border of the Transvaal. The coal measures are in the north-west in the Nqutu and Kyudeni hills, and also, in the form of anthracite coal, in the Hlabisa district near St. Lucia Bay. Zululand contains also iron, copper, and other minerals, but they have not yet been worked.

From the date when it was proclaimed a British Colony, Zululand made steady progress, and the annual revenue, so long as it remained separate, more than covered the ordinary expenditure. In 1888, the first full year of its existence as a British Colony, the revenue amounted to nearly £33,000; in 1894 to over £45,000; in 1895 to nearly £52,000; in 1896, additional territory being now included, to nearly £60,000. The main source of revenue was the hut tax paid by the natives, which yielded more than two-thirds of the total annual receipts. By special arrangement Natal

¹ As to Kaffir cultivation, see Part I, p. 170, note 1.

took the customs duties on goods which entered Zululand across her border, and paid in lieu to the Zululand administration a sum of £1,800 per annum. The land revenue was growing in consequence of the opening up of the gold-fields, and postal receipts showed an increase. On the expenditure side, the civil administration, including the Zululand police and public works, were the principal items; the net result being a considerable balance on the right side and no Public Debt. Owing to the annexation of Zululand to Natal, the accounts of the Province are no longer kept separate. The currency of the country is British sterling. Even while Zululand was separate from Natal there were no trade returns owing to the arrangement aforesaid, by which all customs dues on the southern frontier were paid in Natal.

The native population of Zululand in 1901 was estimated at about 196,500, and there were over eleven hundred European residents. In 1894 the natives numbered about thirteen to the square mile, or, excluding the uninhabited districts of the territory, between seventeen and eighteen to the square mile; but this estimate was framed before the colony and its population was enlarged by the incorporation of the Trans-Pongola districts. The very large majority of the natives are Zulus, but there is also in the Nqutu district a sprinkling of the Basuto race. The Zulus are showing themselves intelligent and not devoid of enterprise, seeking work and making money in many cases beyond their own land, more especially in the gold-fields of the Transvaal.

Four Christian mission agencies have been for some time established in Zululand, by the English Church, the Norwegian Missionary Society, the Church of Norway Mission Society, and the Swedish Missionary Society¹. Their schools are

¹ The Salvation Army also has a mission in Zululand, and the Roman Catholics have begun mission work in the territory.

subsidised by the Government, and education has hitherto been entirely conducted on the grant-in-aid system. The English Church has the largest number of schools, including one industrial school at Eshowe, and one school at the same place for European children only. The Norwegian missionaries have also an industrial school at Eshowe, in which the natives are taught artisans' work in wood and iron. The growing increase in the European population due to the gold discoveries is creating a demand for more schools, and future years should show a considerable advance in educational work.

So far the record of Zululand under British government has been distinctly satisfactory, and the condition of the people is wonderfully different from what it was in Chaka's days or under the later rule of Cetewayo. No longer organised to destroy, no longer banded in regiments or forbidden to marry except in accordance with the will of a fighting despot, the Zulu people are living in contentment and peace, and the strong qualities which made them a terror to their neighbours are now finding play, under European guidance, in the continuous development of the country and the steady improvement of its people.

TONGALAND

Between the north-eastern frontier of Zululand and Portuguese territory, and between the Pongola River and the sea, lies that portion of Tongaland which since 1898 has been a part of the colony of Natal, and is now a part of the Province of Zululand. The country and the people are still not very well known. Its area is approximately about 1,660 square miles, and its population about 23,600 natives and twelve Europeans. On its coast, in 26.53 south latitude, is the opening of the Kosi River, which has been sometimes talked of as a possible port in the future. The

country is a continuation of the lowlands of northern Zululand, not rising above 300 feet, sandy and swampy, thickly wooded in the interior, but badly watered and very unhealthy. In the wet season, from October or November to May or June, it is a fever-stricken land, to be shunned by Europeans. Less warlike than the Zulus and not of such fine physique, the Amatonga or Maputas, as they are also called, are more intelligent and more industrious, skilful with their hands, cultivating the ground to a much larger extent than the Zulus, and also going forth to work in Natal, the gold-fields, or at Delagoa Bay. Mealies or maize, millet, and ground-nuts are the chief articles of food, and palm wine is extracted from the trunks of the wild palms. Cattle thrive in the land but not horses, and wild game of various kinds was, till recent times, to be found in the jungle. The trade of the country has been hitherto principally with Delagoa Bay.

Tongaland is now administered as part of the district of Ingwavuma in the Province of Zululand.

IV



Oxford.

CHAPTER IV

THE TRANSVAAL

THE Transvaal is bounded on the north by Southern Rhodesia, on the west by the Bechuanaland Protectorate and Cape Colony, on the south by the Orange River Colony and Natal, and on the east by Portuguese East Africa and Swaziland. Its area is about 111,000 square miles, or rather less than that of the United Kingdom. Stretching from about 22° to 30° south latitude, the Transvaal penetrates at its extreme north into the torrid zone, and would, in the ordinary course of things, be a sub-tropical country. In fact, however, its high level above the sea causes its temperature to be lower than it would otherwise be. The climate is what is termed 'continental,' being subject to greater extremes of temperature than are found in regions exposed to marine influences. The climatic conditions are explained by the physical characteristics. On the east there is a steep mountain chain, which intercepts the warm rain-bearing trade winds which come from the Indian Ocean. Beyond this mountain range there is a plateau, stretching with little interruption across the mainland to the Atlantic Ocean, which is exposed to the cold Antarctic currents. The rainfall increases in amount passing from west to east, the two extremes being Namaqualand and Natal; the former of which is almost rainless, while the maximum in Natal is as much as 44 inches. In the Transvaal the average rainfall is from 8 inches to 16 inches. Although the Transvaal suffers from scarcity of water, it appeared to the first trekkers coming from the desert Karroo of the south a land of plenty

and greenness. It is described as 'a great natural park, with clumps of mimosa here and there, growing thickest near the water-courses.' The prevailing feature is the recurrence of great rolling plains. Low mountain ranges or isolated hills sometimes occur, but the general altitude of the plains prevents these from appearing other than slight elevations.

Although it is for the most part a vast tableland, its different districts present features of a distinct character. For agricultural purposes there may be noted five main divisions. First, there is the dolomite region, with a formation of magnesian limestone. This embraces all the country within lines roughly joining Vereeniging, Heidelberg, Bethel, Pretoria, Rustenburg, Zeerust, Lichtenberg, Klerksdorp, and the Vaal River from Klerksdorp to Vereeniging. Its area is about 15,000 square miles. There is a further considerable stretch of dolomite country in the Lydenburg district. Altogether almost one-fifth of the whole of the colony is under this formation. The special characteristic of the dolomite is its furnishing immense natural reservoirs. This formation runs along the Witwaterberg between Pretoria and Johannesburg, and westward for a distance of some 200 miles. Wherever it prevails, there is the possibility of an abundant water supply such as is found at Pretoria. Next, there is the high veld, which lies to the east of the dolomite region, and may be said to be enclosed by lines drawn roughly from Vereeniging to Heidelberg, Pretoria, Belfast, Amsterdam, Vryheid, Volkrust, Standerton, and the line of the Vaal River. It consists of undulating plains of grass with a few hills rising out of the general level. 'If one were to imagine the Midlands of England, without fences, without fields or trees, and without homesteads or villages, one would have a good idea of this veld¹.' It lies

¹ Report of Mr. Willcocks on 'Irrigation in South Africa,' in *Further Correspondence relating to affairs of South Africa*. C d, 1,163, 1902.

between 4,700 feet and 5,700 feet above sea-level, and the winters are very cold and dry. The average rainfall is about 21 inches, which for the most part falls in the months of January, February, and March.

The bush veld lies to the north of the dolomite region. It is almost entirely covered with a dense scrub. It affords excellent grazing for cattle, but is unsuited for sheep or horses. The district suffers generally from want of water. The low veld lies to the north and east of the bush veld and the high veld. The bush and the low veld taken together include the lands lying generally below 3,500 feet above sea-level and north of the twenty-sixth degree of latitude. The low veld is, for the most part, well supplied with water, and capable of extensive irrigation. It is well suited for the production of tropical plants, but its development has been hindered by the unhealthiness of its climate for Europeans.

Different in character from these divisions is the south-west corner of the Transvaal. It lies to the south-west of a line joining Lichtenberg and Klerksdorp. It covers some 10,000 square miles, and is for the most part about 4,000 feet above the sea. It consists of a light sandy loam, and is generally level.

The principal mountain ranges are the Lebombo Mountains which border Zululand and Portuguese East Africa, and the continuation of the Drakensberg, parallel with the coast, which culminates in the Mauchberg (near Lydenburg), the highest point in the Transvaal. The chief rivers are the Limpopo and the Vaal. The Limpopo describes a semicircle of nearly 1,000 miles between its source south-west of Pretoria and its mouth to the north-east of Delagoa Bay. The defective rainfall, however, and the existence of falls 100 miles from its mouth, prevent the use of the river for navigation purposes. The Vaal rises on the western slope of the Drakensberg Mountains, and after forming for

most of its course the southern boundary of the Transvaal joins the Orange River in Griqualand West.

The climate as a whole is very healthy. Malaria prevails in the low country, and in parts of the bush veld the climate is not suitable to Europeans. In the high veld, however, it is exceptionally healthy. The summer heat is tempered by the rain which falls in these months (October to March), and the winter months (April to September) are very dry and bracing. In the north of the Transvaal in the districts of Zoutpansberg, Barberton, and Lydenburg are highlands which, though very damp and differing in character from the high veld, are yet not unhealthy for Europeans.

The Transvaal first received European occupants in the years 1835-8, when many of the Boer trekkers, who had shaken the dust of Cape Colony from off their feet¹, crossed the Vaal River. Expelling the Zulu chief Umsilikatsi, these became possessors of the country between the Vaal and Limpopo Rivers. In 1842-3 they were joined by large numbers of Boers from Natal, who were averse to the English occupation. The political independence of the Boer Republic was recognised by the Sand River Convention of 1852. Its Government, however, proved far from successful in its dealings with the surrounding natives and its own finances; and in 1877 the Transvaal was annexed to Great Britain. In 1880 the Boers revolted, and after a short war in which the Boers had obtained the first successes, their virtual independence was recognised in 1881, though the suzerainty of the British Crown was reserved. In 1884 the 'South African Republic' was recognised, and the suzerainty reduced to yet more shadowy proportions. In the following years the discovery of gold in the Witwatersrand, and the immigration of a large English and foreign population, completely altered the situation, by giving the English ground for interest in

¹ See Part I, p. 195.

the internal affairs of the Republic, and by furnishing the Boer Government, through the taxation of foreigners, with military supplies. After a prolonged period of tension, the Government of the South African Republic in October, 1899, declared war on Great Britain, peace not being finally restored till May, 1902. The Transvaal was annexed to the British Empire in 1900. Its government for the present takes the form of a Crown Colony. The administration is carried on by a Governor appointed by the Crown, under whom is a Lieutenant-Governor, and an Executive Council consisting of five members, viz. the Colonial Secretary, the Attorney-General, the Commissioner for Native Affairs, the Treasurer, and the Commissioner of Mines. The Education Department, Public Works Department, and Lands Department are under the general control of the Colonial Secretary; the Postal and Telegraph Departments under that of the Treasurer. The Attorney-General is responsible for the Resident Magistrates, who conduct the work of the government in the various districts of the Colony, and also for the Police. The Commissioner for Native Affairs looks after the black population, with the assistance of Native Commissioners stationed in different parts of the country. At the present time the Governor lives at Johannesburg, while the Lieutenant-Governor and most of the government offices are at Pretoria, the old capital. The Legislature consists of a nominated Legislative Council, consisting of thirty members including the Lieutenant-Governor. Of these fifteen, apart from the Lieutenant-Governor, are government officials, the remainder being selected to represent the interests of the various sections of the population.

There has been as yet no authentic census of the population. An estimate before the war put the total white population at about 180,000; of whom 63,000 were Boers, and 87,000 Uitlanders.

For purposes of administration the Colony is divided into sixteen districts, the most important of which is Johannesburg and the Rand. 'The Rand' is a narrow strip extending for about forty miles from Krugersdorp in the west to Springs in the east, Johannesburg being in its centre. It is situated on nearly the highest elevation in South Africa, and forms the watershed in this region between the Indian and South Atlantic Oceans. The whole strip is covered with mines and mining villages. Johannesburg, standing nearly 5,700 feet above the sea, dates from 1886. In 1887 the population was about 3,000. In 1890 about 26,300, and in 1896 over 102,000. Since this time there has been no census, but one will shortly be made. The total gold production of the Transvaal from 1884 to the beginning of 1903 is put down as £94,855,086. Of this the Witwatersrand area produced no less than 87.7 per cent.

The country districts, starting from the south and from east to west, are Wolmaransstad, Lichtenberg, Potchefstroom, Heidelberg, Standerton, Wakkerstroom, Ermelo, Marico, Rustenburg, Pretoria, Middelburg, Barberton, Lydenburg, Waterberg, Zoutpansberg.

The Transvaal is exceptionally rich in its mineral resources. The output of gold exceeds that of any other country. The highest maximum of production for any one month was in August, 1899, when gold was produced to the value of £1,709,766. Even under present conditions, when the mines are suffering from the scarcity of native labour, gold is being produced to the value of over ten millions a year. The total output for 1902, during the earlier months of which the war was still continuing, was 1,718,920 oz., valued at £7,301,501. Apart from the Rand, gold-mining is carried on at Barberton, in the north, near the Portuguese frontier, and elsewhere. Gold is said to be distributed throughout the Drakensberg, in the northern Zoutpansberg and Waterberg, and in the

western Rustenburg and Marico districts. There are also valuable deposits of coal, iron, copper, lead, cobalt, sulphur, and saltpetre. In 1902 coal was sold to the value of over £637,600. The bulk of the coal produced comes from the Springs Brakkan area.

Hitherto 'agriculture has scarcely been attempted except on the most primitive lines and on the most insignificant areas. Farmers to-day trek from the high veld to the low veld and back again with the seasons, just as the wandering Arabs of the desert have done for centuries¹.' In the valleys of the high veld, indeed, oats, mealies, Kaffir-corn and many vegetables can be grown without irrigation, and already round Johannesburg the land has for some time for a considerable distance been cultivated, and market-gardening has become an important industry. Taking, however, the colony as a whole, agriculture is in a very undeveloped condition, and the cause of this lies in the scarcity of water. 'The rainfall is not only erratic and uncertain at the times most opportune for sowing, but is constant and heavy in autumn. Autumn again is quickly followed by a very severe and frosty winter without a particle of moisture in the air. When rain is wanted it is generally not there; when it is not wanted it is invariably present².' Moreover, the Boers were naturally a pastoral people, and the size of the farms has been so large as to render agriculture almost impossible. Under the new administration encouragement is given to the small capitalist. It is proposed to settle men in small colonies of from twenty to thirty each. The type of settlement will vary according to the different districts. These colonies will at first be placed only in good districts with an adequate water supply, and within a reasonable distance of railways and markets. The size of the farms will differ, according to the nature of the district and the capital of the

¹ Mr. Willcocks's Report.

² Ibid.

individual. For fruit and tobacco farming about twenty acres should be sufficient, while from 2,000 to 3,000 acres would be required for stock-farming. It is clear, however, that the general future of agriculture in the colony is closely bound up with the development of irrigation; there being no question of the fertility of much of the land could the needful water be obtained. Fortunately, however, the water supply appears sufficient if directed in the proper channels. Another hindrance to agriculture are the swarms of locusts which from time to time sweep over the plateau region throughout the colony.

The Transvaal is eminently a land of flocks and herds, but here too it has suffered from the want of enterprise of its people. It has been pointed out that if sufficient winter crops were grown with the aid of the rainfall, and the stock herded in winter in cattle and sheep folds, sheltered by groves of trees, it would be possible to dispense with the annual trek. In many districts, however, stock are subject to peculiar diseases, and belts of the low veld are infested by tsetse fly.

The large game which were once so plentiful have now almost disappeared; lions, which in the time of the first trekkers were numerous, being now rarely seen. The hippopotamus and the crocodile are still found in the Limpopo River, but the eland, springbok, giraffe, and zebra have well-nigh disappeared from the Transvaal plateau, and have given place to cattle, sheep, and horses.

From Johannesburg main lines of railway run to Cape-town, Port Elizabeth and East London in Cape Colony, to Durban in Natal, and to Lorenzo Marques in Portuguese East Africa. There is also a branch line from Krugersdorp through Potchefstroom to Klerksdorp. From Pretoria a branch line runs to Pietersburg in Zoutpansberg, and another is under construction to Rustenburg in the west of the colony. A short line runs from Barberton to

Kaapmuiden. A large extension of the railway system has received the sanction of the Transvaal Government, £5,000,000 having been allotted to this purpose from the guaranteed loan, but operations have been delayed by the scarcity of native labour.

The figures of the revenue and the expenditure for the six months July to December, 1902, would be misleading to quote, since the figures on both sides were swollen, on the one hand by imperial grants, and on the other hand by expenditure on relief and land settlement and repatriation. About £1,048,000 was raised by customs duties and over £341,000 by transfer duties. The estimated revenue for the year ending June 30, 1903, was £4,000,000, and the estimated expenditure £3,702,765. The Public Debt is, at present, £35,000,000, but a further sum of £30,000,000 will be raised in three annual instalments from January, 1904, to provide the contribution of the Colony towards the cost of the War. In 1902 the imports of merchandise amounted to the value of £13,067,671, and the exports to £7,431,632. At present gold is almost the only article of export.

Free elementary education is provided where there is an attendance of not less than thirty scholars. The medium of instruction is English, but parents who desire it can secure instruction in the Dutch language for their children to the extent of five hours a week. To meet the need for secondary education fee-paying schools have been established in the large towns, and the State recognises its responsibility with regard to the whole system of education from the elementary school to the university.

At the time of the 1890 census there were reported to be 560,000 natives in the Transvaal, but the number just before the war was estimated to be 800,000, the mass of whom are concentrated in the northern and eastern divisions. In Zoutpansberg before the war there were estimated

to be no less than 400,000. All the natives in the Transvaal belong to the Bantu family, speaking dialects respectively of Sesuto and Zulu.

Swaziland on the east is a dependency of the Transvaal. Its extent is approximately 8,000 square miles, and its population about 40,000 natives and 100 whites.

A little handbook of the Transvaal has been prepared by the Transvaal authorities for the Emigrants' Information Office. Apart from the war there are not many books relating to the Transvaal. *The Boer States, Land and People*, by A. H. Keane, 1900, is an enlargement of the section relating to these countries in the well-known work on Africa. *The New South Africa, its Value and Development*, by W. Bleloch, contains much interesting matter relating to the Transvaal, and should be consulted along with the *Parliamentary Papers* containing reports by Lord Milner.

CHAPTER V

THE ORANGE RIVER COLONY

THE Orange River Colony is bounded on the north by the Transvaal, on the west and south by Cape Colony, and on the east by Natal and Basutoland. It stretches from the Orange River to the Vaal, and has a length of 360 miles and an average breadth of about 130 miles. Its area is about 50,000 square miles, less than half that of the Transvaal, and about the size of England without Wales.

A few Cape farmers had crossed the frontier of what is now the Orange River Colony as early as 1828, but it was not till the time of the great trek, 1834-6, that the country was occupied. British sovereignty was proclaimed in 1848 by Sir Harry Smith, and enforced after the battle of Boomplaats. In 1854, however, the independence of the Orange Free State was recognised, and the British Government remained hostile to any scheme of confederation between it and Cape Colony. For many years the Republic continued on very friendly terms with Great Britain, but, becoming entangled in an offensive and defensive alliance with the South African Republic, it espoused the cause of its northern neighbour in the South African War, and shared its fate, becoming annexed to Great Britain in 1900.

Apart from the Vaal, its northern boundary, the Orange River is the only river of importance in the colony; the numerous tributaries which flow into it being, for the most part, almost waterless in the dry months. Taking its rise in the mountains of Basutoland, the Orange runs along the southern border of the colony, separating it from Cape Colony. Its main tributary is the Caledon,

which joins it near Bethulie. It is not till beyond the borders of the Orange River Colony that the Orange is joined by the Vaal River in Griqualand West.

The climate of the Orange River Colony is on the whole dry. Nevertheless it varies considerably in the different districts. The eastern portion is the best watered, and is comparatively moist. The western portion is very dry; the rainfall being both slight and uncertain. Without irrigation agriculture in this portion of the colony is almost impossible. The central portion represents a mean between the eastern and western districts, being less moist than the former, but not so dry as the latter district. The climate is, on the whole, very healthy, the Bloemfontein district from its height above the sea and dry air being especially adapted to those suffering from weak chests.

Bloemfontein is the capital of the colony, but as yet it is not more than a small country town, with a population of some 3,000.

The greater part of the country consists of rolling plains covered with karroo bush in the south, and with grass in the northern portion; the north-eastern half of the colony affording at present the best pasture land. Toward the south a great portion of the Orange River Colony consists of stony kopjes and barren plains, and it is, for the most part, a vast grazing ground, but it also contains a tract of country which is especially adapted for the development of agriculture. This is known as 'the conquered territory,' land taken from the Basutos, and consists of the strip, in length about 130 miles and in breadth about 25 miles, which borders on the Caledon River, or which drains into it. The country lies between 4,500 feet and 5,500 feet above the sea, and has a rainfall of from 25 to 30 inches. The veld is covered with good grass, and agriculture is greatly on the increase. Wheat and Indian corn are the principal crops. Extreme fertility is given to the soil by

the presence of phosphate of lime, and the district seems destined to become the granary of South Africa. It is in this portion of the colony that an organised attempt is about to be made to develop British colonization by the establishment of 'county colonies.' Blocks of selected farms will be acquired for every county association which desires them, and these associations will select farmers to represent the different counties.

The districts of the colony are Vrede, Frankfort, Heilbron, Vredeport, Kroonstad, and Hoopstad, facing the Transvaal from east to west, Boshof, Jacobsdal, Fauresmith, Springfontein, and Rouxville, facing Cape Colony from north to south-east, and Wepener, Thaba 'Ncho, Ladybrand, Ficksburg, and Bethlehem, facing Basutoland from south-east to north-east, and Harrismith and part of Vrede facing Natal. The interior districts from south to north are Smithfield, Edenburg, Bloemfontein, Winburg, Senekal, and Lindley.

Hitherto the main wealth of the country has consisted in its flocks and herds. Horse breeding is also a profitable industry. But little has been done in the way of agriculture, and the average production of grain is believed not to exceed two million bushels. As in the Transvaal, scarcity of water is the main impediment to successful agriculture, but with the extension of irrigation the natural fertility of the land will receive fair play, and market gardening especially should prove an important industry. The systematic planting of trees may further increase the rainfall. There are indications of coal, diamonds, gold, and petroleum in several parts of the colony, but as yet the diamond mines at Jagersfontein and Koffyfontein, both in the district of Fauresmith, represent the chief mineral production of the country.

The government of the Orange River is for the present of the type known as that of Crown Colony. In addition to the Governor, who is the High Commissioner, Lord

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Milner, there is a Lieutenant-Governor and Executive and Legislative Councils. The Executive Council consists of the Lieutenant-Governor, Attorney-General, Colonial Treasurer, and Colonial Secretary. The Legislative Council consists of the Lieutenant-Governor, five official and four unofficial nominated members. The population was in 1890 about 207,500, of whom about 77,700 were whites.

There are at present about 440 miles of railway open, consisting of the main line to the north and three branch lines. Further lines are to be constructed; a line from Harrismith to Viljoens Drift, a line from Bloemfontein to Modderpoort, to be extended later to Ficksburg and Bethlehem on the Harrismith-Viljoens Drift line, one from Springfontein to Jagersfontein to be extended later to Kimberley, and one from Kroonstad to Klerksdorp in the Transvaal.

For the year 1902 the estimated revenue of the Orange River Colony was £800,000, and its estimated expenditure £795,980. In 1898, the last normal year, the imports were to the value of £1,190,933, and the exports were to the value of £1,923,425. Wool, mohair, skins, and hides were the main articles of export. In addition to these general exports, diamonds to the value of £514,099 were also exported.

Free education, of an undenominational character, will be given throughout the colony: the different religious denominations having the right to give religious instruction at appointed times. A High School will be established in each district, from which students may proceed to the Grey College at Bloemfontein.

CHAPTER VI

THE BECHUANALAND PROTECTORATE AND SOUTHERN RHODESIA

NORTH of the Cape Colony, in which British Bechuanaland is now included, the British dominion stretches to the Zambesi. It extends also beyond the Zambesi, but that river may be taken to be geographically the northern limit of South Africa. This territory has for its western boundary the German Protectorate. On the north it is bounded by the rivers Chobe and Zambesi. On the east, between the Zambesi and the Limpopo, it is conterminous with the Portuguese possessions in East Africa; and when the Limpopo is reached, it is bounded on the south and east by the Transvaal.

The total area between these limits is estimated to be about 530,000 square miles. Of this total, some 386,200 square miles are comprised in the western section, the Bechuanaland Protectorate, while the remainder, amounting to about 143,800 square miles, represents the north-eastern portion of the territory, now known as Southern Rhodesia, the plateau of Matabeleland and Mashonaland, the area of Matabeleland being estimated at nearly 61,000 square miles, and that of Mashonaland at over 82,000. Southern Rhodesia forms the most important of the three divisions into which the British South Africa Company have divided their territories, the others being North Eastern Rhodesia and Barotseland North Western Rhodesia; both of which lie beyond the Zambesi. The three together have been given by the Company the common name of Rhodesia. The whole of Matabeleland and Mashonaland is administered by the Company, subject to the terms of their charter, to

Orders in Council, and to such conditions as have been laid down by the Imperial Government.

Part I. BECHUANALAND PROTECTORATE

The northernmost town of the Cape Colony is Mafeking on the Molopo River, about seventeen miles south of the border. A straight line drawn due north from Mafeking will pass through the Victoria Falls on the Zambesi. Mafeking is very little to the north of 26° south latitude, and the Victoria Falls are just north of 18° . The Falls therefore are about 550 miles due north of Mafeking. The straight line drawn as suggested will run through territory owned or claimed by Bechuana tribes, but far the greater part of the area in question is desert land, and the Bechuana kraals or towns are to be found mainly on its eastern side, towards the frontier of the Transvaal.

Taking the clans from south to north; the Baralong, whose best-known chief was Montsioa, are the southernmost, located on either side of the Molopo. North of the Baralong are the Bangwaketse and the Bamalete. Bathoen is the chief of the Bangwaketse, whose town is Kanye, in $24^{\circ}57'$ south latitude, sixty-six miles due north of Mafeking, to the west of the railway and telegraph route. It stands on a plateau, about 200 feet above the surrounding country, and 3,750 feet above the level of the sea, the slopes of the hill being wooded, steep, and on two sides precipitous. Below the hill are detached villages and a church and mission station, and below it also is the water supply, which is fairly plentiful. East of Kanye, on the direct route to the north, seventy-seven miles from Mafeking, is Ramoutsa the town of the Bamalete, whose chief is Ikaneng; and nineteen miles due north of Ramoutsa is the station of Gaberones. Beyond the country of the Bangwaketse and the Bamalete is the country of the Bakwena and of the Bakhatla, the latter being a small clan which moved out of the Transvaal and

occupied a corner of the Bakwena territory on the Transvaal border. Sebele was at the time of the issue of the last Report on the Protectorate the chief of the Bakwena, whose town is Molepolole, but Gaberones is also within their borders. The Bakhatla town is Mochudi, and Lenchwe was their chief. Molepolole, situated in 24°26' south latitude, is, like Kanye, a large native centre, lying to the west of the direct route to the north. It stands 4,000 feet above sea level. It is over fifty miles north of Kanye, and about forty miles west of Mochudi, Mochudi being on the main telegraph and railway route, twenty-six miles north of Gaberones, and forty-five miles north of Ramoutsa. In Bakwena territory, about twenty miles south-east of Molepolole, is the old mission station of Kolobeng, where in years gone by David Livingstone lived and taught¹. North and north-east of the Bakwena and the Bakhatla is the Bamangwato country, ruled over by Khama, the strongest and best-known of the Bechuana chiefs. His old town was at Shoshong, on the slopes of two parallel ranges of hills, about 120 miles north-east of Molepolole, at the junction of the northern trade route to the Zambesi and the north-western route to Lake Ngami; but, the water supply being short and the sanitary conditions unsatisfactory, he moved some years ago over forty miles to the north-east, to his present town of Palapye. Palapye, in 22°37' south latitude, stands on the northern slopes of the Chapong hills, at an elevation of 3,150 feet above the sea. In order to avoid overcrowding, the town is widely spread, being four miles in length, it has a supply of wholesome water and is fairly healthy. From Mochudi it is 171 miles distant, and from Mafeking 293. Its distance from Bulawayo is 210 miles. Beyond Palapye the Bamangwato country, as defined in 1895, extends towards the east across the Macloutsie River, a little above its junction with the Limpopo, to the confluence of the Shashi and the Tuli

¹ See Part I, p. 217.

Rivers. On the north it is bounded by the Shashi River up to its source, whence the boundary line runs in a northerly direction to the rivers which flow, or rather whose channels lead, from the north-east into the Makarikari Salt Lake. The line then skirts the eastern and southern shores of that lake to the point where the Botletle or Zuga River joins that lake, and thence follows the course of the Botletle to the north-west, to its junction with the Tamalakane River, less than fifty miles distant from Lake Ngami. The north-eastern district of this territory, between the Macloutsie and the Shashi Rivers, was a few years ago in dispute between the Bamangwato and their constant foes the Matabele. Close to Khama's boundary line, but outside it, are the Tati gold-fields, about ninety miles due north of Palapye; while Fort Tuli, belonging to the British South Africa Company, is also just beyond the border, 138 miles north-east of Palapye. North of the Bamangwato territory and the Makarikari Lake a more or less desert land extends to the basin of the Zambesi.

The cattle posts of the Bechuana tribes which have been enumerated above, the Bangwaketse, the Bakwena, and the Bamangwato, are carried far to the west into the Kalahari desert. The Kalahari extends for hundreds of miles, with a very few nomad inhabitants, Kaffirs and Bushmen, who live by hunting, and who, under the general name of Bakalahari, are in some sort serfs of the Bechuana chiefs and their peoples. In short, with one exception, the Bechuana Protectorate, so far as is at present known, consists of a strip of country on the eastern frontier, where, at long intervals, there is a series of Bechuana settlements, and of an enormous tract of little-known territory, in great measure arid desert, uninhabited or most sparsely peopled by a few nomads. The exception is Ngamiland in the north-west, Lake Ngami being about 500 miles from the nearest point on the northern trade route. Near its shores an offshoot of the Bamangwato

established themselves a generation or more ago. They are known as the Batawana, and their chief Sekhome was a nephew of Khama. Raided by the Matabele, Sekhome's father Moremi found a refuge in the malarious swamps which surround the lake; but of late years the tribe have come more into the open, claiming the lands round the lake, and the territory which lies to the north between the lake and the Chobe River, and raiding in their turn the weaker native tribes who come within their 'sphere of influence.' Feverish and unhealthy as is the immediate neighbourhood of Lake Ngami, there is a district about 100 miles south-west of the lake, which was a few years ago reached by a band of trekkers, and found to be in climate and in other respects suitable for settlement by white men. This is the Ghansi or Mokeng district, where, for a radius of sixty miles round the Ghansi pan or vley, there is good grazing country on a flat surface, well supplied with open pools though not with running water, fairly well timbered, and healthy for men and cattle, though not for horses. The natives of this far-off district are Bushmen, who have suffered much at the hands of the people of the lake.

The whole of the territory now being described is part of the continental plateau of Africa, and its average level is at least 3,000 feet above the sea. The eastern part is fairly fertile in parts, and in parts well wooded; it is plain country broken by occasional ranges of hills. The Kalahari desert is no doubt in great measure desert properly so called; but, as knowledge spreads, grass and timber are found where they were not supposed to exist. The greater part of the Kalahari, and the southernmost section of the inhabited part of the Protectorate, drains, if it drains at all, to the Orange River through the channels of the Oup, the Nosop, and the Molopo. North of Kanye and Ramoutsa, on the eastern side of the Protectorate, the land slopes downwards to the north-east, and drains into the Limpopo, the chief

feeders of that river within the Protectorate being the Notwane, which flows in a north-easterly direction, and joins the Limpopo near the station of Palla almost on the Tropic of Capricorn, and the Macloutsie River further north, flowing with an easterly course into the Limpopo. Far north of Palapye, at about 22° south latitude, the watershed of the Zambesi is reached; but there is an intervening tract of country stretching away to the westward, which, as far as is known, has no outlet to the ocean, except, it may be, at times of unusual overflow. At one end of this landlocked basin is the Makarikari Lake or salt pan, from which the headwaters of the Macloutsie River have sometimes been held to flow, and at the other end is Lake Ngami, the two lakes being connected by the channel of the Botletle River, which flows out of Lake Ngami, that lake being in turn fed by a branch of the Kubango river¹. There are numerous other lakes or vleys scattered through the Kalahari, such as Anderson's Vley, due south of Lake Ngami, and Kumadau Lake, south-west of the Makarikari, on the line of the Botletle River; and the desert district north-east of the Makarikari has been known as the land of the Thousand Vleys. But to write of this region is to write of a hardly known land, and of a land whose geographical features have changed and are probably still in course of change.

The greater part of the Bechuana Protectorate, including Khama's country and Ngamiland, is within the tropics; the climate is therefore hot, but it is a dry heat, and not unhealthy except in the neighbourhood of the great rivers, the Limpopo and the Zambesi, and in the marshes round Lake Ngami and along the course of the Botletle River. The great difficulty is ever the want of an ample supply of good water, and the trade routes lead from pool to pool, often with long distances intervening.

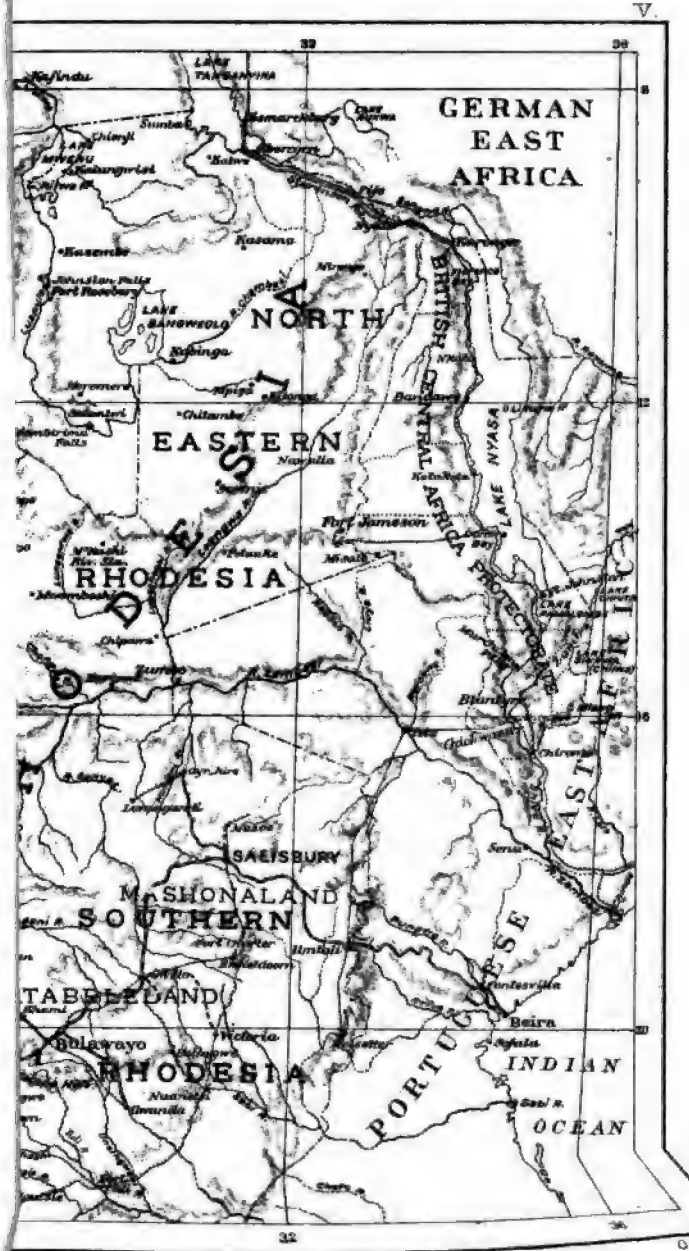
¹ Lake Ngami is said to be gradually drying up. The area of open water is less than 100 miles in length.

The native population of the whole Protectorate probably does not much exceed 100,000, of whom more than half, say 60,000, live in its southern section. In the north Khama's subjects number about 25,000, of whom some 15,000 have their dwelling-place at Palapye, while another 10,000 are scattered at various hamlets and cattle stations within a radius of 200 miles from the town. The population of Ngamiland may be taken to be about 10,000. In addition to the natives, some four to five hundred Europeans, trekkers, traders, missionaries, and employés of the Government or of private companies may be computed at any given time as living within the limits of the Bechuana Protectorate. The natives tend their cattle or grow their crops of maize or of native corn, but the cattle are often killed off in large numbers by rinderpest, and drought and locusts preclude agriculture on any extensive scale. Such trade as now exists is in cattle, hides, and grain; ivory and other produce of the chase having almost disappeared with the extinction of large game. The development of Southern Rhodesia led to a considerable amount of transit traffic, and, especially among the Bamangwato, employment was found for waggons and draught oxen; but, with the construction of the railway, this business is likely to decrease. No minerals in any paying quantities have been found within the Protectorate. Boundary disputes between the respective chiefs and their followers have been frequent from time to time, and have been arbitrated upon by the officers of the Crown. Jealous of their lands and of possible European encroachment, the Bechuanas have shown themselves on the whole very amenable to the authority and guidance of the High Commissioner and his deputies, looking to the Imperial Government for advice and protection, and accepting their decisions with loyalty and confidence. That Christianity has been a real force in the land is shown by the example of Khama, who in earlier days risked

much for his religion, and who, under the guidance of Mr. Hepburn, a missionary now no longer with him, ruled and still rules his people firmly and well ; a determined foe of strong liquor, a friend of education, and an enlightened and far-seeing man. In many cases it may be allowed that the Christianity engrafted upon the Bechuana tribes has a considerable alloy of native superstition ; but none the less it has had a softening and a civilising influence, even where the conversion may only have been skin-deep. The chief share of the work must be credited to the London missionaries, but other agencies have also been in the field. At Mochudi there is a minister of the Dutch Reformed Church, and at Ramoutsa there are German missionaries. What will be the future of the Bechuana peoples, now that a railway runs through their midst, it is difficult to forecast. Hitherto, living pastoral and agricultural lives on what are large native reserves, removed from towns and mining centres, they have dwelt safely under the tribal system to which they have ever been accustomed, occasionally disputing among themselves, often suffering from bad seasons, but no longer raided either by black or by white men.

Part II. SOUTHERN RHODESIA

Southern Rhodesia, consisting of Matabeleland and Mashonaland, lies between the Zambesi and the Limpopo on the north and south, between the Bechuanas' country and the Portuguese possessions on the west and east, the eastern frontier being defined by the Anglo-Portuguese agreement of 1891. The western part is Matabeleland proper. The eastern section of the territory is Mashonaland, where, with the permission of King Lobengula, who claimed it, the British South Africa Company first established themselves. The territory is accessible either from the east or from the south. On the east the starting-point



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is the Pungwe river in Portuguese territory, with the port of Beira at its mouth. Forty miles¹ up the river is Fontes-villa, the starting-point of a railway constructed by the company, which has been extended at both ends down to the sea at Beira and inland to Salisbury. The total length of the line from Salisbury to Beira is 375 miles, rather less than the distance from London to Edinburgh. The line traverses some miles of very low-lying country between the coast and the Portuguese border, and during the wet season has hitherto always been liable to interruption by floods. From Umtali, the last township on the eastern side of the Chartered Company's territories, to Salisbury, is a distance of 149 miles. Salisbury is the chief town in Mashonaland properly so called. From the south the Chartered Company's railway runs through the Bechuanaland Protectorate as already described, the distances being from Mafeking to Bulawayo, in round numbers, 500 miles, rather less than the distance from London to Aberdeen. From Bulawayo the line runs to Salisbury, a distance of 300 miles. Another line runs from Bulawayo to the Wankie coal area (161 miles). This line is being continued to the Victoria Falls on the Zambesi, and is part of the projected Cape to Cairo scheme. A branch line runs from Salisbury to the Ayrshire mine (75 miles).

Within the territory itself, Bulawayo is the western centre, Salisbury the north-eastern, and Tuli the southernmost station. From Tuli to Bulawayo is a distance of 140 to 150 miles. From Tuli to Salisbury is a distance of 388 miles, the route passing through Nuanetsi, Victoria, and Charter. Victoria is 200 miles north-east of Tuli, and 188 miles due south of Salisbury; and between Victoria and Salisbury is Fort Charter, 123 miles due north of Victoria, 65 miles due south of Salisbury.

Matabeleland and Mashonaland consist in the main of

¹ Thirty-five and a half by railway, forty-five by river.

a large plateau, which is really a continuation of the plateau of the Transvaal, and which has an average level of 3,500 to 4,000 feet. It is reached by a gradual ascent from the south and west, but is steep towards the north and east, and in the Umtali district, on the eastern frontier, some of the mountain tops rise to a height of 7,000 and 8,000 feet. The plateau is crossed diagonally by the range of the Matoppo mountains, which run for some 400 miles from the Tati district in the south-west to Mount Hampden in the north-east. This range is the water parting between the streams which run north to the Zambesi, and those which run south to the Limpopo and Sabi Rivers. Tati, which is not within the limits of the Company's territory, lies at the foot of the mountains at their south-western end, at a height of from 2,600 to 2,700 feet above the sea. The level of Bulawayo, on the northern slope of the range, is about 3,500 feet. Victoria, on the south-eastern side of the mountains, is 3,670 feet high, and at their north-eastern end, the ground on which the town of Salisbury stands just reaches the level of 5,000 feet. Granite boulders and kopjes or knolls are widely scattered through the table-land, the rivers are many, there is in parts fine timber, rich pasturage, and a fertile soil, apart from the wealth which may be found in the minerals.

The whole of the territory is within the tropics, but, in spite of the heat, the climate, owing to the height of the land above the sea, is in most parts and at most times of the year healthy for Europeans. The high veld of Matabeleland is said to be more healthy than some of the Mashonaland districts, as having been more depastured; for, where the grass is higher and the vegetation more luxuriant, the end of the rainy season threatens malarial fever. The average range of temperature on the plateau has been stated to be from 36° to 86°, though the thermometer rises at times to over 100° in the shade. At

Bulawayo the average temperature is about 70°. The average rainfall during the past four years has been in Mashonaland 37·6 inches and in Matabeleland 23·2 inches. The rainy season is from November to the end of March; the winter months are from May to August; the prevailing wind, cold in winter, is from the south-east. A frost of more than two degrees seldom occurs. No snow has ever been known.

The table-land of Matabeleland is well suited for sheep-farming, and that cattle thrive there, as a rule, in spite of rinderpest and other forms of sickness, was proved in the past by the large herds which were owned by the Matabele. There is also specially good pastoral country in the eastern districts of Mashonaland, in and above the Sabi valley. Agriculture has made great strides in the Umtali and Melsetter¹ districts. Here is a fertile soil, rich grass country, high table-lands, and wooded valleys with a plentiful water supply. The timber of these districts is fine, and among other trees are those whose bark can be used for tanning. It may fairly be said of the whole territory that it has considerable pastoral and agricultural capabilities. The pasture is improving in sweetness as it is fed down by cattle. Hay is becoming an article of export to Cape Colony. All kinds of grain can be grown, and all kinds of vegetables, European as well as sub-tropical. In the neighbourhood of Bulawayo and Salisbury market gardening has been carried on to a considerable extent; and in most parts tobacco has been successfully grown. It promises to become in the future a great and staple article of export. The drawbacks to agriculture hitherto have been, in addition to difficulty of transport, locusts and occasional deficiency of rainfall. But as a rule the water

¹ Melsetter, the scene of the Moodie Trek, takes its name from an estate in the Orkney Islands. It is 100 miles due south of Umtali, to the east of the Sabi River and on the frontier of Gazaland.

supply is quite adequate, and there are ample facilities for irrigation. It is hoped that the locust pest may disappear through the cultivation of a fungoid growth, a fine mould, which quickly attacks and destroys whole swarms of locusts. It is a land where European farmers can live and work in health and strength, and where, as a general rule, nature will well repay the handiwork of man. Potatoes, mealies, oats, and lucerne are the crops which seem in most districts the most suitable, wheat being often liable to rust.

It is, however, to the mineral wealth of the region, actual or prospective, that public attention has been mainly directed. The traces of old workings found throughout the country testify to its having been in past times exploited in search of gold. Hitherto mining has been hampered by long distances and want of communication, implying the absence of adequate machinery, but the existence of gold and other minerals in large quantities is beyond dispute. Gold is the principal mineral, but others also are plentiful. There are large coal areas, iron is indicated by the name of Iron Mine Hill, and lead and copper ore have been discovered. Gold is found throughout the territory from the extreme south-west to the extreme north-east, on the eastern frontier near Umtali, and towards the south-east near Victoria. The principal gold-bearing districts are those of Bulawayo and Gwelo in Matabeleland, and in Mashonaland, Salisbury, Umtali, Lomogundi, and Mazoe. In 1901-1902 gold was produced to the value of over £640,500; the entire previous gold production from the commencement of mining having been a little under £730,000. The bulk of the gold comes from Matabeleland, but the output from Mashonaland is increasing.

In the Company's report for 1902 the native population of Matabeleland was estimated at 176,800; that of Mashonaland at 338,013. From the date when the Matabele kingdom beyond the Limpopo was established about sixty

years ago, until Lobengula's regiments were broken by the South Africa Company's forces, the native races of these territories were constantly raided by the Matabele, and large numbers must have been exterminated or carried into slavery. Three separate peoples, other than the Matabele, have their home between the Limpopo and Zambesi, all of Bantu stock and akin to one another, but differing alike from the Zulus and the Bechuanas. In the south, between the Matoppos mountains and the Limpopo, are the Makalakas; in the north-west the Banyai; and in the north-east the Mashonas. The Matabele themselves are no longer of pure Zulu blood, but have become intermixed with the tribes which they have conquered and enslaved. In Eastern Mashonaland there is also a certain number of Barotse immigrants of Bechuana origin from beyond the Zambesi, and Basutos have found their way across the southern frontier into the Tuli district.

The Mashonas may be taken to be the typical native race in this part of South Africa. Degraded by Matabele oppression they are not strong physically or morally. On the other hand they are industrious agriculturists and clever in native handicrafts, not unpromising subjects for British rule. The white population of Matabeleland and Mashonaland has grown rapidly. At the present time the total European population is estimated at over 11,000, of whom about 7,000 are in Matabeleland, and about 4,000 in Mashonaland. Salisbury and the district round contains about 3,000, and Bulawayo about 4,700 European civilian residents.

Rhodesia has been governed by the British South Africa Company on Crown Colony lines. The powers of the Company, subject to recent modifications, are defined in their Charter and in Orders in Council. The supreme authority, under the Imperial Government, is vested in the Court of Directors in London. In South Africa there is

an Administrator, whose appointment requires the Secretary of State's approval, and a Resident Commissioner appointed by the Crown. These are assisted by an Executive Council consisting of four members, the additional Law officer, the Treasurer, the Chief Secretary, and Attorney-General. There is also a Legislative Council, consisting of the Administrator, the Resident Commissioner, and fourteen other members, of whom seven are appointed by the Company and seven are elected by the registered voters in the country.

Justice is administered by a High Court and by magistrates, the territories being divided into magisterial districts. The law is, as nearly as the circumstances of the country permit, the law which was in force in the Cape Colony on July 18, 1894, when the Matabeleland Order in Council was passed, except so far as it had then been modified by Order in Council, Proclamation, or Ordinance, and so far as it has since been modified by Orders in Council and Proclamations made by the High Commissioner under such Orders, by Ordinances of the Company which have been approved by the Secretary of State, and by Regulations of the Administrator in Council which have been approved by the High Commissioner, published in the Gazette, and not disallowed within one year by either the Company or the Secretary of State. In civil cases between natives, the judges and magistrates are guided as far as possible by native law and custom, and may be advised by native assessors. The police and any armed forces are now under the direct control of the Imperial Government.

The various districts into which the territories have been divided are in charge of Civil Commissioners, most of whom are also magistrates. There are mining commissioners and native commissioners. Public works and survey departments have been organised, and the post offices and telegraphs give constantly growing work, telegraph com-

munication being steadily carried on to the north beyond the Zambesi through the intervening strip of Portuguese territory.

Schools have been opened, churches have been built, and various missions are at work, the Church of England, the Dutch Reformed Church, the Wesleyans, and the Roman Catholics all being represented. Medical officers are stationed at the principal centres, and the hospitals include a fine building at Bulawayo erected in memory of those who fell in the Matabele campaign.

Interesting in its present development and in its future prospects, this region between the Limpopo and the Zambesi has an interest also for the antiquarian. Near Victoria, on sloping grounds, are the ruins of Zimbabwe¹ with circular walls and a conical tower, the remains of ages long gone by, and other ruins have been found elsewhere in the territory. Pieces of sculpture and pottery have been discovered, and the judgment of experts is that they are the work of Sabaeen Arabs before the days of Mohammedanism and long before the time when Europeans first set foot in South Africa. Early gold seekers, we may believe, found their way into this land which a Chartered Company has opened anew, and it is not wholly fanciful to identify Rhodesia with the Land of Ophir.

Note.—The following is the present position of railways and telegraphs in Rhodesia (October 1903).

1. Public traffic on the railway from Salisbury to Gwelo was commenced on June 1, 1902. The section from Bulawayo to Gwelo was completed on October 6, 1902, when through communication was established between Salisbury and Bulawayo. The main line from Bulawayo to the Wankie coal-fields, the Victoria Falls, and the north is being pushed forward with all possible speed. Branch lines are under construction from Bulawayo to Gwanda, from Gwelo to Selukwe, and from Salisbury to Mazoe.

2. The African Transcontinental Telegraph line reached Ujiji in German East Africa (about 300 miles from the southern end of Lake Tanganyika) in January, 1903. The length was then over 1,400 miles.

¹ A report on these by Mr. R. N. Hall is contained in the *Reports of the Administration of Rhodesia, 1900-2*.

SECTION II

BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA

BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA nowhere touches the sea. Hence, unlike the Cape Colony, with which it is now united by a continuous stretch of territory under British rule or influence, and unlike British East Africa, the coastline of which has been known since the days of the early Portuguese sailors, it has no ancient history. Like British East Africa, it contains great lakes and is the birthplace of a mighty river, but the lakes alike in East and Central Africa are far removed from the coast, and in both cases were only discovered when the present century was well advanced. European knowledge of the region, which is now British Central Africa, dates from the journeys of David Livingstone¹.

In November, 1853, Livingstone left Linyanti, situated in what is now German Protectorate south of the Zambesi; and, with the help of the king of the Barotse country, worked his way up the Zambesi or Liambai, as the river is called in its course through Barotseland. The upper part of the Zambesi he found to be lined with thick forest; the climate was unhealthy; the navigation difficult even for canoes. Pushing

¹ The Portuguese had stations on the Zambesi, and the Jesuits had a station as far up as Zumbo. In 1798, a Dr. Lacerda penetrated as far as Kazembe's country, near Lake Mweru, and in 1802-11 two Portuguese half-castes crossed the continent from Angola to Tete, but neither politically nor geographically did these expeditions leave any traces. Indeed, Livingstone found that the Portuguese were quite ignorant even of the course of the Shire, and it may be considered certain that none of the great lakes were discovered by them.

on through the marshes of the Luvale country, he entered the Portuguese Sphere, and finally reached St. Paul de Loanda, the capital of Portuguese West Africa.

Returning in 1854, he travelled down the Zambesi and discovered the Victoria Falls. In the course of this journey he found that the Portuguese, on the eastern side of Africa, had no post higher up than Tete, having abandoned Zumbo, which was not reoccupied till 1879. He reached the sea in safety, and came back to England in 1856. At home he was received with enthusiasm, and a lecture which he delivered at Cambridge resulted in the founding of the Universities Mission to Central Africa. The Government appointed him to be Her Majesty's Consul at Quelimane for the East Coast of Africa south of Zanzibar and for the independent districts of the interior, and he was at the same time placed in charge of an exploring expedition, to which was attached Dr. Kirk, afterwards Sir John Kirk, for many years British Consul at Zanzibar.

In 1858 he started up the Zambesi again, and in the following year traced the course of the Shire River, then quite unknown, as far as the Murchison Rapids; discovered the salt lake Chilwa or Shirwa; and, crossing over the Shire Highlands, found Lake Nyasa.

In 1860 he once more pushed up the Zambesi, finding that the alien Makololo power in Barotseland was already breaking up¹; and in 1861, having helped the new Universities Mission under Bishop Mackenzie to establish themselves at Magomero, to the east of the Shire Highlands, he went on to explore the western shore of Lake Nyasa. Owing partly to the inherent difficulties of the undertaking, partly to inexperience and consequent mismanagement, the new mission met with a series of disasters. Bishop Mackenzie died, with other members of the mission, and

¹ Sekeletu, the Makololo king, died in 1864, and the Barotses then reasserted their independence.

his successor, Bishop Tozer, removed the seat of the mission to Zanzibar.

In 1863 the British Government ordered Livingstone home, and next year he was again in London. In 1866 he started on his last journey, with the rank of Her Majesty's Consul, to the chiefs and tribes of Central Africa. He struck inland up the Rovuma River, now the boundary between the Portuguese and German Spheres in East Africa, and, working round the southern end of Lake Nyasa, journeyed to the north-west and north. He crossed the Luangwa River, one of the chief tributaries of the Zambesi, the range of the Mushinga mountains, and the Chambezi River, which flows into Lake Bangweolo, and emerges from it under the name of Luapula; and at length he reached the southern end of Lake Tanganyika. From that lake he went west and south, and, after visiting Lake Mweru or Moero and Kazembe's fertile country, discovered Lake Bangweolo. Deeply impressed with the belief that the sources of the Nile could be traced in what is now known to be the Congo Basin, he continued his work of discovery, in spite of failing health, to the west in what is now the Congo Free State, and to the east beyond Lake Tanganyika in lands now within the limits of German East Africa. Stanley found him in 1871 at Ujiji on the eastern shores of the lake, but he refused to return, and died at Chitamba to the south of Lake Bangweolo in the spring of 1873.

The results of Livingstone's work, whether to Europe or to the land for which he lived and in which he died, can hardly be over-estimated. Before the date of his discoveries little was known of the Zambesi, and practically nothing beyond. He laid bare once for all the principal geographical features of South Central Africa. But he did more than add to the sum of scientific knowledge. Beyond all other men he gave an impulse to missionary effort in the interior of

Africa, beyond all other men he was a pioneer in these regions of British influence and British trade. The outcome of his work has been the establishment of a British administration, which has already done much to check slave-raiding, the evil against which he ceaselessly warred, the chief bar to civilisation, to industry, and peace.

The first missionary enterprise in Central Africa, that of the Universities Mission, ended, as has been seen, in failure. The failure, however, was not permanent. At Zanzibar, where the missionaries found a temporary resting-place, the study of native languages, and especially of Swahili, the lingua franca of the East African coast, was vigorously prosecuted; and under Bishop Steere (1874-82) stations were established on the mainland to the north of the Rovuma River. In 1885 the mission planted itself in the island of Likoma in Lake Nyasa, which is still its headquarters, and in 1892 a Bishop of Nyasa was appointed.

The enthusiasm, which in England gave rise to the Universities Mission, led in Scotland to the establishment of two missions which have exercised a most important influence upon the development of the Protectorate. They were the Livingstonia Mission of the Free Church of Scotland, whose work has mainly been on the western side of Lake Nyasa, and the Church of Scotland Mission, whose field of operations lies to the south of the lake. In 1875 an expedition despatched by the Free Church, under the command of Mr. Young, R.N., took a steamer up the Zambesi, and, carrying it round the Murchison Rapids on the Shire River, reached Lake Nyasa. The mission was temporarily established at Cape Maclear, but in 1878 a settlement was made at Bandawe, where the headquarters of the mission now are. Bandawe is half-way up the lake, on its western side, over against the island of Likoma.

The Church of Scotland Mission was founded in 1876. The Shire Highlands were fixed upon as a suitable field for

work, and a healthy spot was selected, and named Blantyre, after Livingstone's birthplace on the Clyde.

For years the missions continued to work under great difficulties. Communication with the coast was slow and uncertain, and the country was disturbed by constant slave raids. In 1880 the current price for slaves on Lake Nyasa was quoted as follows :—

For a strong young man	40	yards of calico
For a young unmarried girl	56	„ „
For a toothless old man	2	„ „

The efforts of the missionaries, however, though powerless to keep peace through the region generally, sufficed to give security to the districts more immediately round their stations, and the stations became the nucleus of native settlements. The work was by no means confined to religious teaching. The medical departments of the missions contributed very largely to their success. At Blantyre experimental gardens were formed and kept up, and the coffee raised there by Mr. Buchanan for a time developed into a considerable industry. A fine church at the same place has been erected entirely by native labour. Slowly but steadily the missions grew in strength and influence, and were supplemented in 1878 by a company formed at once for commercial and for philanthropic objects, the African Lakes Company.

In 1887 the so-called Arab slave-traders—often men who have but little Arab blood in their veins—renewed their activity, devastating the region at the northern end of Lake Nyasa, threatening the missions, and actually besieging the station of the African Lakes Company at Karonga, which however held out successfully. The action of the Portuguese at the time also increased the difficulties in which the company and the missions were involved, and eventually hastened the establishment of a British administration.

The Portuguese empire in East Africa, now but a fraction

of what it once was, had never at any time extended much beyond the coast and the banks of the lower Zambesi¹. The navigation of the Zambesi had been free to all comers for many years past, but in 1887, alarmed by the progress which other European powers were making in Africa, the Portuguese attempted to close the river, and to compel all vessels, which plied along it, to be registered under the Portuguese flag. The 'James Stevenson,' a ship belonging to the African Lakes Company, was detained, and ammunition, urgently required by the British settlers, was prevented from passing up stream. These proceedings, accompanied by claims on the part of Portugal to the whole continent between their East coast and their West coast possessions, roused considerable resentment in Great Britain and elicited strong remonstrances from the British Government. Diplomatic correspondence ensued, and meanwhile a Portuguese expedition under Serpa Pinto, the African explorer, marched into the Shire country. 'Peaceful and scientific' the expedition was styled, but it was well armed, and the Makololo chiefs, who remembered Livingstone, resented its advance. As a counter move, the acting British Consul, Mr. Buchanan, declared a British Protectorate over the Makololo country and the Shire Hills beginning at the river Ruvo. The position of matters was critical, and some decided step was necessary. Accordingly the British Government formally declared that they should look upon any attempt by the Portuguese to exercise dominion over the British settlements in the Shire districts or on Lake Nyasa as an invasion of the rights of the British Crown, and, following up this declaration, Lord Salisbury, in January, 1890, threatened to recall the British minister from Lisbon, unless Portugal agreed to withdraw all or any Portuguese military forces which were actually on the Shire River, or in the territory of

¹ See p. 100, note 1. Some account of the Portuguese power in East Africa is given in the next chapter.

the Makololo, or in the Mashona country south of the Zambesi. Ultimately, a settlement was effected by the Anglo-Portuguese treaty of June, 1891, by which the free navigation of the Zambesi, the Shire, and their affluents was secured for ships of all nations, and the limits of the British and Portuguese Spheres were defined, both north and south of the Zambesi.

The first article of the treaty specifies the western limits of Portuguese East Africa, north of the Zambesi. Under its provisions, Great Britain recognises as within the dominion of Portugal all the country south of the Rovuma River¹ and east of Lake Nyasa down to 13.30° south latitude. Thence the frontier line runs in a south-easterly direction, past the eastern shores of Lakes Chiuta and Chilwa, to the easternmost affluent of the river Ruo. Carried on to that river, it follows its course down to its confluence with the Shire River. Next it follows this latter river to a point just below Chiwanga, then, turning westward to the watershed between the Shire and the Zambesi, it takes a north-westerly and northerly direction, following the watershed between the two rivers and between the Zambesi and Lake Nyasa, until the fourteenth parallel of south latitude is reached. From this point it runs in a south-westerly direction, till it meets the river Luangwa on the fifteenth parallel of south latitude, and finally follows the Luangwa River down to the Zambesi. The net result of this article of the treaty is to give an irregular shape on the map to the dominions of the two Powers in question north of the Zambesi. Portugal is left with a triangular piece of territory west of the Shire region and in the middle of the British Sphere ; while this same Shire region runs out to the south, like a kind of British peninsula between lands

¹ More accurately, in the words of the treaty, the northern boundary of the Portuguese Sphere is 'a line which follows the course of the Rovuma from its mouth up to the confluence of the river Msinje, and thence westerly along the parallel of latitude of the confluence of these rivers to the shore of Lake Nyasa.'

which have been assigned to Portugal. The islands in Lake Nyasa are reserved to Great Britain by a separate article in the treaty.

The fourth article of the treaty provides for a boundary line between the British and Portuguese Spheres on the western side of the continent. The line follows the course of the Upper Zambesi from the Katima rapids to the point where the territory of the Barotse Kingdom is reached, and it is laid down that that territory shall remain within the British Sphere, its westward limits being left to be decided by a Joint Commission. Pending the report of such a commission, the frontier has been provisionally taken to be the Zambesi up to its confluence with the Kabompo River, and thence the course of the Kabompo.

Nearly a year before the Anglo-Portuguese treaty of 1891 was signed, the British and German Governments, on July 1, 1890, came to terms with regard to their respective Spheres in Africa. Under the agreement, an outlying strip of German South-west Africa touches but does not cross the Zambesi, where it forms the southern boundary of Barotseland. Another article of the same agreement prescribes the boundary between German East Africa and British Central Africa. Starting on the south from the Portuguese boundary, the Rovuma River, the German Sphere includes the eastern shore of Lake Nyasa north of Portuguese territory, together with the northern shore of the lake. Then from the point where the Songwe River flows into the lake, the frontier line between the British and German Spheres runs almost due north-west to Lake Tanganyika, the Stevenson Road being left on the British side of the line. The southern end of Lake Tanganyika is also within the British Sphere.

On its north-western side British Central Africa borders on the Independent State of the Congo. Here the frontier has been defined by an agreement dated May 12, 1894¹.

¹ The third article of the agreement, providing for a lease to Great

Starting from a point at the south-western end of Lake Tanganyika, at about 8.15 south latitude, the boundary line runs nearly due west to where the Luapula, one of the main head-streams of the great Congo River, flows in a north-westerly course out of Lake Mweru. Thence it is drawn directly down the lake, deflected only so as to assign the island of Kilwa to Great Britain, to where the same river enters Lake Mweru at its southern end. From this point it follows the Luapula in its semi-circular course to where the river issues from Lake Bangweolo, and thence is carried due south to the watershed between the Congo and the Zambesi. Finally it follows that watershed in a westerly direction up to the Portuguese frontier.

In October, 1889, the British South Africa Company received its charter from the Crown, and in February, 1891, the charter was extended so as to cover the territory under British influence north of the Zambesi, with the exception of Nyasaland. Nyasaland, which was excluded from the sphere of the Company's operations, was, on May 14, 1891, formally declared to be under the Protectorate of Great Britain¹, and by a later notification, dated February 22, 1893, was given the official name of the British Central Africa Protectorate. Thus British Central Africa, north of the Zambesi, falls into three sections: Barotseland North-western Rhodesia is a Protectorate administered under the High Commissioner for South Africa, the expenditure being defrayed by the British South Africa Company; North-eastern Rhodesia is administered by the British South Africa Company on the same lines as Southern Rhodesia, though the administration is of course of a more elementary

Britain by the Congo State of a strip of territory between lakes Tanganyika and Albert Edward, was, owing to objections raised by the German Government, subsequently withdrawn.

¹ The exact limits of the Protectorate are given in the London Gazette of May 15, 1891.

character¹, while the eastern districts, including the western and southern shores of Lake Nyasa and the Shire Highlands, form a Protectorate, directly controlled by the Crown through an Imperial Commissioner.

The first British Commissioner in Central Africa was Mr., now Sir H. H. Johnston. He had been British Consul at Mozambique, and in 1891 was appointed Her Majesty's Commissioner for Nyasaland, acting also for a time, as already stated, in the capacity of Administrator for the whole of British Central Africa. On taking up his appointment, he found the whole territory disorganised by slave raiding, and the record of his administration was in the main a record of continuous and successful struggle against the raiders. At the southern end of Lake Nyasa he built a fort—Fort Johnston—to hold in check the chief Mponda now deposed; and on the eastern side of the lake, within the British Sphere, but close to the Portuguese frontier, he attacked the Yao chief Makanjira, an inveterate and defiant dealer in slaves. Makanjira's town was burnt, and three of the dhows, in which he ferried his captives over the lake, were destroyed; but on a second expedition, in the autumn of 1891, Captain Maguire, the brave commander

¹ The limits of North-eastern Rhodesia, as defined by the Order in Council of January 29, 1900, are the parts of Africa bounded on the west by the boundaries of the Congo Free State, and of Barotseland North-western Rhodesia; on the south by the Kafukwe River and the Zambesi down to its junction with the Luangwa River, thence by the mid-channel of the Luangwa River northward to where it is cut by the 15th degree of latitude, and from this point by the Anglo-Portuguese boundary eastwards to the frontier of the British Central Africa Protectorate; on the east by the aforesaid frontier; on the north by the Anglo-German frontier, the south shore of Lake Tanganyika, and the southern frontier of the Congo Free State as far west as Lake Mweru, including the island of Kilwa in the British sphere.

The limits of North-western Rhodesia, as defined by the Order in Council of November 28, 1899, are the parts of Africa bounded by the Zambesi, the German South-west Africa Protectorate, the Portuguese possessions, the Congo Free State, and the Kafukwe or Loengi River.

The total area of North-eastern and North-western Rhodesia is estimated to be over 606,000 square miles.

of the Sikh force engaged, was killed, and his steamer, which had run aground, was with difficulty rescued. Not till the autumn of 1893 was the power of this troublesome chieftain finally broken, and his country controlled by the erection of Fort Maguire. Other and similar enterprises were successfully carried out, and other forts were built. On the Upper Shire Liwonde and his followers were forced to submit. Afterwards, on the Mangoche mountain, south-east of Lake Nyasa, Zarafi's stronghold was stormed. Towards the northern end of the lake Arab marauders, who tried to block the route to Tanganyika, were dispersed, and gradually throughout the whole region of Nyasaland law and order were substituted for the slave raiders' tyranny. In January, 1896, Sir H. H. Johnston was able to report: 'As far as I am aware, there does not exist a single independent avowedly slave-trading chief within the British Central Africa Protectorate, nor any one who is known to be inimical to British rule¹.'

Of the total area of British Central Africa, north of the Zambesi, some 60,000 square miles are included in the British Central Africa Protectorate, while the rest is covered by the charter of the British South Africa Company. The line of length is from north-east to south-west, from the boundary of German East Africa at the head of Lake Nyasa to the outlying arm of German South-west Africa which touches the Upper Zambesi. The extreme length between these two points, as measured on the map, is over 850 miles. The length of the Eastern frontier, where the Protectorate is carried to the south down the Shire River, is about 520 miles. British Central Africa is of very irregular shape, and the boundary on the western side has yet to be accurately delimited, but it will be seen by looking at the map that the territory is narrowed in the centre by the Congo State stretching down from the north-west, and by

¹ C. 8,013, 1896, p. 25.

Portuguese East Africa stretching up from the south-east, so that a comparatively narrow waist is formed, on the south-western side of which is Barotseland, while on the north-eastern side is the region of the lakes.

The lakes are the most striking geographical feature of British Central Africa. On the extreme north is the southern end of Lake Tanganyika ; on the north-western frontier is Lake Mweru, between which and Tanganyika there is a salt lake also called Mweru ; on the west is Lake Bangweolo ; on the east is Lake Nyasa, and, south of Lake Nyasa, Lakes Chiuta and Chilwa, and the smaller lake Malombe or Pamalombe. The area of some of these lakes can hardly be determined being much larger in the wet than in the dry season ; and in many, if not most, of them the water is either salt or brackish. Lake Nyasa, however, is a pure fresh-water lake. Among all the lakes of Africa the Victoria Nyanza comes first in size, Lake Tanganyika second, and Lake Nyasa third. Lakes Tanganyika and Nyasa are similar in configuration, long and comparatively narrow, running north and south. The length of Tanganyika is over 400 miles, and its breadth varies from sixty to thirty. Its southern end is over 200 miles north-west of the northern end of Lake Nyasa. Nyasa, which is *the* lake par excellence of British Central Africa, is 360 miles long and from fifteen to forty-five miles broad. Its area is given at over 14,000 square miles, being rather less than half the size of Lake Superior, and more than sixty times as large as the Lake of Geneva. Bangweolo, very variable in size at different seasons of the year, is credited with an area of between 1,600 and 1,700 square miles. Lake Mweru has a length of sixty-eight miles and an average breadth of twenty-four, while Lake Chilwa is about fifty miles long and fifteen to sixteen miles broad, but in the dry season part of its area is no more than marsh¹.

¹ The figures given above are taken mostly from Sir H. H. Johnston's Report of the first three years' administration of the Eastern portion

The main rivers of British Central Africa are the Zambesi and its affluents, and the headwaters of the Congo. The dividing line between the Zambesi and the Congo basins runs in a south-westerly direction from the high plateau between Lakes Tanganyika and Nyasa. The Zambesi forms a water-way into British Central Africa, being connected with Lake Nyasa by the Shire River. From the Chinde mouth of its delta on the Indian Ocean it is navigable at all times of the year for vessels of very light draught up to its confluence with the Shire.

The Shire, flowing south out of Lake Nyasa over a sand-bar, which in the dry season is an obstacle to steamers of any size, takes its course through the muddy Lake Malombe, and at some distance further south comes down from the highlands in the Murchison Falls or Rapids, which make a complete break in the navigation of the river, cutting off the Upper from the Lower Shire. The rapids extend for a considerable distance, and in their course the river descends a thousand feet. Below them the Shire receives the waters of the Ruo River, and up to this point there is for small boats uninterrupted navigation from the Zambesi at all times of the year, though larger craft are in the dry season stopped at a point a little distance above the main confluence of the two rivers, where a cross-channel from the Zambesi enters the Shire.

Higher up than the entrance of the Shire, the navigation of the Zambesi is intermittent, broken by falls and rapids, the most notable of which are the far-famed Victoria Falls. Its main tributaries from the north are the Luangwa, the

of British Central Africa, C. 7,504, August, 1894. For the sake of comparison, the following dimensions of lakes are taken from the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*:

	<i>Length.</i>	<i>Breadth.</i>
Superior . . .	350 miles	100 miles
Caspian . . .	600	50
Erie	220	48
Geneva . . .	45	8.7

Kafue, and the Kabompo, little known rivers but, as far as known, only partially navigable.

In the Congo basin the chief river of British Central Africa is that which, under different names, is really the Upper Congo. Rising on the Nyasa-Tanganyika plateau it flows south-west, bearing the name of the Chambesi, into Lake Bangweolo, navigable, at any rate in a great part of its course, for light vessels. From Bangweolo it issues under the name of Luapula, and, flowing south and west, is broken in its course by the Mambirima Falls. Beyond these falls it flows north-west and north to a further series of rapids or falls, named the Johnston Falls, at about 10.30° south latitude, beyond which point it is navigable into Lake Mweru. After leaving the lake it takes a north-westerly course under the name of the Lufwa, and joining the Lualaba, which flows from the south-west, and the Lukuga, which flows due west out of Lake Tanganyika, becomes the great Congo River.

Lake Nyasa, a deep depression in an upland plateau, lies rather over 1,500 feet above the sea. The height of Lake Tanganyika is nearly 2,700 feet, of Bangweolo nearly 3,800 feet, and of Mweru about 3,000. The channel of the Zambesi just above the Victoria Falls is some 2,500 feet above the sea. British Central Africa, as a whole, is a plateau whose level ranges over 3,000 feet. In the valley of the Zambesi the level is lower, as also along the course of the Luangwa, flowing down between the highlands to the west of Nyasa and the Mushinga Mountains, which form the easternmost edge of the Congo basin, and which rise to a height of about 5,000 feet.

On the western side of Lake Nyasa, away from the immediate neighbourhood of the lake, the average height of the Angoniland plateau is over 4,000 feet; and towards the north-western end of the lake the level of the Nyika plateau reaches 7,000 feet. Between Nyasa and Tanganyika the

table-land is about 4,500 feet high ; and south of Nyasa the Kirk Mountains on the west of the Shire River range up to 7,000 feet, while the level of the Shire Highlands on the east of the river is over 3,000 feet. In different parts of the territory various mountain-tops rise to at least 6,000 or 7,000 feet, the highest mountain at present known within British Central Africa being Mount Mlanje, east of the Shire Highlands and due south of Lake Chilwa, estimated to be 9,650 feet in height.

The valley of the Zambesi is malarious and unhealthy, but on the plateaus, such as the Shire Highlands, Europeans can live for some time with little or no injury to health. Though in the heart of the tropics, the temperature on the higher levels is not extreme, nor is the rainfall excessive. The average annual rainfall for the Protectorate is about sixty-seven inches, for the Shire Highlands it is about fifty, for the Lower and Upper Shire River districts about thirty-four, and for North-West Nyasaland about seventy-six inches. The rainy season is from December to April, the first three months of the year contributing two-thirds of the annual rainfall.

The forests of British Central Africa, in Nyasaland once more extensive than they are at the present day, contain valuable timber, notably a kind of cypress, resembling a cedar, which grows on Mount Mlanje above the level of 5,000 feet, and which is used for building purposes. There are various kinds of palms, including the oil palm and the coconut ; ebony is found, India-rubber trees, bamboos, and on the lower ground the papyrus rush. The variety of altitude and temperature permits of most kinds of fruits and vegetables being grown, European as well as tropical, and also most kinds of cereals. Wheat, oats, and barley are produced as well as maize and rice. Potatoes grow notably well on the Shire Highlands. Tobacco, ground nuts, and oil seeds are cultivated, and among the exports is the seed

of the *strophanthus*¹. Experiments are being made in the cultivation of cotton and of tea, which promise successful results. The product, however, which has the most commercial value at the present time is coffee, grown in the Shire Highlands within an area of rather over 3,000 square miles. For some years the export of coffee and the amount of land planted largely increased, and, the supply of native labour being plentiful, coffee-planting promised to be the staple industry of British Central Africa, but the industry is at present in a state of serious decline, and doubts are entertained as to its future. Locusts sometimes make their appearance in these regions, doing much damage to the food crops, though fortunately not attacking the coffee plantations.

To pastoral industry the great drawback is the tsetse-fly, which infests most parts of the low country, making the importation of horses and cattle a difficult matter. The fly, it is stated, disappears with the extinction of wild game and with the spread of human settlement, and even under present conditions is not in evidence upon the high ground. High up too, certain poisonous plants, which elsewhere prove fatal to live stock, are not to be found, so that it is possible that hereafter large tracts of land in British Central Africa may be utilised for grazing. The extermination of wild animals, which is the inevitable result of European settlement, unless stringent regulations be enforced, would mean not merely the extinction of living creatures which have scientific interest; it would mean also the loss of articles valuable in commerce, of hides and horns, and especially of ivory, which has hitherto stood first in point of value in the list of exports from British Central Africa. At present wild animal life abounds in many forms, even the giraffe being still found in the valley of the Luangwa.

¹ *Strophanthus* seed furnishes natives with arrow poisons, and Europeans with a valuable drug used, like digitalis, especially in cases of heart disease. The *strophanthus* belongs to the dogbane family.

The mineral resources of British Central Africa are not yet explored. Coal and iron are certainly plentiful, coal having been found near the Shire River and on the north-western shores of Lake Nyasa. Copper is known to be a product of the territory, and gold also ; but whether or not the region north of the Zambesi is, like the South African peninsula, rich in precious metals, has yet to be proved.

Although the total area of British Central Africa is several hundred thousand square miles, a rough estimate of the number of human beings living within its limits is not more than three millions. In Sir H. H. Johnston's reports the territory east of the Kafue River is given approximately at 210,000 square miles, estimated to contain a growing native population of 844,000. Mostly to the west of the Kafue lies the Barotse country, said to contain a large population, who have not suffered, as the natives in the Nyasa districts and the valley of the Luangwa have suffered, from continual slave-raiding. In 1903, the native population of the British Central Africa Protectorate was estimated to be about 736,724, and the European population was 463.

The Kafue River, in Sir H. H. Johnston's words, 'practically marks the limit of East African and Arab influence¹,' but both east and west of it the native tribes are all of Bantu stock. Some of them are peaceful and industrious, such as the Mañanja, who are widely distributed through Southern Nyasaland, and the Atonga on the western side of Lake Nyasa. Others have learnt from the Arabs to ravage and enslave, the most prominent among these predatory tribes being the Yaos, who have come down from the north-east, and who held the districts round the southern end of Lake Nyasa in terror, until their power was broken by the British administration ; and the Angoni, of mixed Zulu blood, on the high land behind the western shore of Lake Nyasa. Among other tribes are the Awemba, who hold the

¹ P. 30 of C. 7,504.

plateaus between Lakes Nyasa, Tanganyika, Mweru, and Bangweolo, and the Wahenga and the Wankonde in the North Nyasa districts. British Central Africa has been dominated partly from the east and partly from the south. From the east have come Arabs and Swahilis with the slave trade in their train. From the south have come invaders and settlers of Bechuana, Basuto, and Zulu blood. The Barotse nation is of Bechuana origin, and for a while they were subjected to Basuto rule, the rulers being the Makololo, trained in the Zulu military system. Rather more than a quarter of a century ago the Makololo were overthrown, and the Barotse people more than regained their former strength, being, under their present king Lewanika, a considerable native power, and looking for protection of their rights and interests to the British Government. Their former rulers, the Makololo, were nearly exterminated, but their name, and to some extent their blood, survives in the Shire region, where a small party sent eastward with Livingstone by their king found a permanent resting-place. Zulu invasions into what is now British Central Africa have been many in the present century, and in other tribes besides the Angoni traces of Zulu blood are left; but no Zulu empire was founded north of the Zambesi such as the Matabele kingdom to the south of that river.

The races for which a great future is predicted in Central as in East Africa are the East Indian. The fighting and police work in Nyasaland has mainly been done by Sikhs under British officers; and Indian traders, known as Banyans, and Indian agriculturists are taking root in the country. The number of white residents grows, but they are necessarily under present conditions but a handful, consisting of missionaries and their families, government officers, and a few merchants and planters. About half of the total white population are Scotchmen, drawn to the land which their great countryman Livingstone made known.

Various mission societies are at work in British Central Africa, all of them Protestant societies, with the exception of the Algerian Mission. Reference has already been made to the Universities Mission, the Church of Scotland Mission, and the Free Church Mission, with their headquarters at Likoma, Blantyre, and Bandawe respectively. The work of the London Missionary Society is mainly in the region of Lake Tanganyika; of the Dutch Reformed Church Mission, in Angoniland; of the Zambesia Industrial Mission, whose efforts are specially directed to training natives for industrial life, in the Blantyre district and Southern Angoniland; and of the Nyasa Baptist Industrial Mission, in the Shire Highlands.

At the northern end of Lake Nyasa, outside the British Protectorate, German mission stations have been established. The record of the mission societies in Central Africa has been a noble one. Large numbers of native children are taught in their schools, learning not only the doctrines of the Christian religion but trades and handicrafts, to print, to build, to cultivate the ground. The Societies' boats and steamers are to be found on the lakes and rivers, and they carry through a region, which the slave-raiders were wont to desolate, a higher civilisation and a message of peace.

The most important township in the Protectorate is Blantyre, about a hundred miles in a straight line due south of Lake Nyasa. The seat of administration is at Zomba, about forty miles north-east of Blantyre. The African Transcontinental line of telegraphs runs through the Protectorate, and there is also a line from Chickwawa to the east coast, via Chiromo. Chinde on the sea-coast in Portuguese territory, and Chiromo in the British Protectorate at the junction of the Shire and Ruo Rivers, about seventy miles south of Blantyre, are the chief ports of British Central Africa for the purposes of communication with the outer world. Chinde is about 90 miles distant from Beira, over

700 from Delagoa Bay, and over 1,000 from Zanzibar. The town stands a mile from the open sea on the one navigable mouth of the Zambesi delta, having a good harbour, except for a bar at the mouth, which very large steamers are unable to cross. By treaty the navigation of the Zambesi and Shire Rivers with all their branches and outlets is entirely free for the ships of all nations, and the Portuguese Government has also granted to the British administration the concession of two pieces of land at Chinde on the south bank of the river, one with a quarter of a mile of river frontage, where goods in transit can be transhipped free of such duties as are levied at the ports of Portuguese East Africa. The chief customs station of the British Central Africa Protectorate is at Chiromo, between which port and Chinde two British lines of light river steamers, belonging respectively to the African Lakes Corporation and Sharrer's Zambesi Traffic Company, carry goods and passengers.

The cost of the British Protectorate is partly borne by the Imperial Government, but the revenue is steadily growing. Customs duties, a hut tax in certain districts, licences, land sales and rents, and postal receipts are the principal items of revenue. The postal service is rapidly being developed, and a new mail service is being arranged through Angoniland. Roads are being made, telegraph lines carried forward, administrative divisions with their respective centres have been formed, and British rule is enforced and freedom ensured by a battalion of the King's Africa Rifles composed of 1,000 natives (Yaos and Angoni) and stiffened by a contingent of 160 Sikhs, supplemented by native police, and supported by Imperial gunboats on the Zambesi and Shire Rivers and on Lake Nyasa. Surveys for a railway to connect Chiromo with Blantyre and Lake Nyasa have been completed; and a line is projected from the Portuguese seaport of Quilimane to the British frontier. Much has been done in very short time, and very much more remains

to be done, if the future is to fulfil the promise of the past. It remains to be seen how far the health of man and beast will be benefited by clearing the jungle and providing speedy communication across the lower levels, malarious and infested by the tsetse-fly. Whether Nyasaland will be one of the great plantation districts of the world, whether European colonisation will take root on the high plateaus, whether on lower ground the East Indian race will prosper and multiply under British protection can only be proved in years to come. But already by British rule well and strongly administered, by private enterprise, religious and commercial, and more especially by the tenacity of Scotchmen, Central Africa is being converted from a hunting ground of slave-traders into a secure dwelling-place for white and coloured men. Through the agency of the British South Africa Company, it is no longer an isolated Sphere of British Influence, but the fortunes of the larger half, west of the Kafue River, are linked with those of South Africa; while, east of the Kafue, languages, commerce, customs, and ties of race connect it rather with East Africa and Zanzibar.

BOOKS, PUBLICATIONS, ETC. RELATING TO BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA.

For Central Africa in the past reference must be made principally to Livingstone's own works, or to Sir H. H. Johnston's and other books relating to the great explorer and his discoveries.

Of Central Africa, since it came under British influence, a most admirable and interesting account, as far as the eastern territories are concerned, is given in Sir H. H. Johnston's report for Parliament of 1894, C. 7,504, and in his later report of 1896, C. 8,254. The latter report contains three valuable Appendices, especially one on missionary work in British Central Africa. The information contained in Stanford's *Compendium of Geography*, Africa, vol. ii. [A. H. Keane], is very full and valuable. The Colonial Office List should also be consulted on the subject.

The standard work on the subject is *British Central Africa*, by Sir Harry H. Johnston, 1897.



SECTION III

BRITISH EAST AFRICA

FROM the mouth of the Zambesi the African coast runs north-east and north for over a thousand miles, until the island of Zanzibar is reached. Zanzibar is 1,600 miles distant from Delagoa Bay, nearly 1,200 from Mahé in the Seychelles archipelago, 1,550 from Mauritius, 2,000 from Aden, and nearly 3,000 miles from Bombay. It marks the beginning of the British Protectorate in East Africa. The island itself, with its dependency the island of Pemba, is under a British Protectorate, but the coast over against which it lies is in German hands, and the British dominion on the mainland only begins at the Uмба River, a little to the north of Pemba.

British East Africa is not a colony, either in the popular sense or according to the statutory¹ definition which declares a colony to be any part of the Sovereign's dominions exclusive of the British Isles and of British India. It is, however, no longer an aggregate of tribes and countries, a great part of which is merely within the Sphere of British Influence. The whole of it is now included either in the British East Africa or the Uganda Protectorate. It remains, however, still true that neither in geography nor in history nor yet in religion can British East Africa be regarded as one. Though it has three considerable rivers running into the Indian Ocean, and though the Nile itself rises within its limits, the barren strip of land which forms the background

¹ 52 and 53 Vic. c. 63.

to the fertile coast has kept the interior from contact with civilisation almost down to our own day.

The Arab, who is predominant on the coast, gives way in the interior to various African races, Bantus, negroes, and others¹; while the Mohammedan religion, which was long the symbol of such civilisation as existed at Zanzibar, comes now into competition with Christianity in its efforts to make proselytes of the native tribes, which are still mainly heathen.

The country lies on the Equator, but it contains snow mountains; and some of the high land lying between the coast and the Victoria Lake is said to be fit for European colonisation. It is bordered by the great lakes of Africa, yet much of the Sphere, especially the parts towards Lakes Rudolf and Stephanie, is waterless.

Geographically, British East Africa may be classed roughly under three heads: (1) the coast, which is low and often unhealthy though fertile; (2) the great slope up from the coast, in some places mere desert, in others a series of undulating grassy plains, sometimes thickly wooded but on the whole bare and very sparsely populated; (3) the lofty central plateau in which lie the three great Nyanza Lakes, Victoria, Albert Edward, and Albert. These lakes are drained to the north by the Nile, and enclose a country in the main fertile and comparatively well peopled.

Historically, there is again a want of unity and continuity. The interior was a blank till the middle of the present century. Not until that date did Swift's satire² lose its point.

‘So geographers on Afric maps
With savage pictures fill their gaps
And o’er uninhabitable downs
Place elephants for want of towns.’

¹ The Waganda are the people of Uganda. Wa is the prefix used in Swahili (the tongue of the mongrel Arabs of the coast, which constitutes the lingua franca of East Africa) to denote the people; Ki, the language (Kiganda); M’ the individual (M’ganda).

² Swift, *On Poetry*, 1733.

The history of the coast, on the other hand, falls into several well-defined periods. First, the period which is known from the writings of the Greek and Arab geographers, a time richer in geographical than in historical knowledge, but more prolific in conjecture than in either geography or history. Secondly, the period of the Portuguese dominion, when East Africa broke suddenly with its past. Thirdly, the time of the Omani¹ rule, when Mohammedan influence, after having been interrupted for two hundred years, became again paramount. Fourthly, the age of the greatness of Zanzibar, when East Africa was no longer a mere dependency of Oman. Lastly, the present day—the time of the ‘scramble for Africa,’ the time when the powers of Europe have been and still are portioning out the Dark Continent among themselves, the period of the re-establishment of European influence and authority. It is only within the last two periods that the interior has come within ken, and it is only in the last fifteen years that it has assumed any great importance.

From very early days there must have been trading relations between Arabia and the western shores of India on the one hand, and the eastern shores of Africa on the other, for the trade winds make the passage to Africa from India and the Persian Gulf very easy at stated times of the year. Moreover, if Ophir is to be identified with Mashonaland², it must be assumed that the Phoenicians visited East Africa as far back as the days of Solomon. Of the interior the Greeks and Romans practically knew nothing³. Most interesting, how-

¹ Oman is a country in the south-east of Arabia, whose principal town is Muscat. Holding, as it does, a central position between Persia, India, and East Africa, it has always enjoyed a considerable trade, and its inhabitants are the most commercial of the peoples of Arabia.

² See above, p. 99. Heeren says:—‘Ophir was the general name for the rich countries of the South, lying on the African, Arabian, and Indian coasts, as far as at that time known.’ (*Historical Researches, Asiatic Nations, Phoenicians*, chap. iii.)

³ The inquiries which Herodotus (bk. ii.) made in Egypt as to the sources of the Nile elicited nothing. Euripides (*Hel.* 1–3) says that the Nile springs from snow mountains, but his language appears

ever, is the short description given by Seneca of an expedition sent by the Emperor Nero to discover the sources of the Nile¹. 'We came,' said the two centurions despatched on the quest, 'to immense marshes, whose issue neither the natives knew nor could any one hope to reach, so tangled is the vegetation in the water, through which it is impossible to force a way whether on foot or in a boat, because the muddy and obstructed shallows will only admit of little boats carrying one person. There we saw two great rocks from which a great volume of water fell.' It is remarkable that these were the very difficulties with which Sir Samuel Baker had to contend in ascending the White Nile in 1863.

To the geographer Ptolemy, who lived in the times of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, are due the Nile Lakes and the Mountains of the Moon which figured on maps of Africa almost to our own day. How far Ptolemy's account is guess-work, and how far due to the information of travellers, has been much debated, but now that the existence of the lakes and of snow mountains has been proved, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that Ptolemy had some basis of genuine information for his statements.

to be only poetical imagery. Seneca (*Nat. Qu.* iv. 2) tells us that Anaxagoras the philosopher had the same opinion as the poet. Aristotle (*Hist. An.* xii. p. 597, Bekker), speaking of the Nile, mentions 'the marshes above Egypt, whence the Nile flows, where are the pigmies.' Lucretius (vi. 735) writes, 'Perhaps too it gets its increase high up from the lofty mountains of the Ethiopians, when the all-surveying sun, with his thawing rays, constrains the white snow to descend into the plains'; but Horace's 'fontium qui celat origines Nilus' (*Carminum* iv. 14. 45-6) is typical of the attitude of antiquity on the subject. Virgil apparently thought that the Nile rose in India (*Georgics* iv. 293); while Strabo, who held that it ran underground near its sources (vi. 6. 9), says that some people imagined that the source was in Mauretania (xvi. 4. 4). He also tells us that Alexander seeing crocodiles in the Hydaspes (the Jhelum, one of the rivers of the Punjab) fancied for a time that he had discovered the sources of the Nile (xv. 1. 25). Lucan's explanations (x. 189, 331) are not happy. Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* v. 10. See also viii. 32), apparently from Carthaginian information, says that the Nile rose from a mountain in Lower Mauretania, near the ocean, and at once flowed through a lake.

¹ *Nat. Qu.* vi. 8.

The coast was known to the ancients for some distance below the Equator, and from Ptolemy and the author of the 'Circumnavigation of the Red Sea'¹ (Indian Ocean) are learnt the names of many ports. Rhapta is mentioned as an important place, and is supposed to have been on the Pangani River or perhaps Kilwa; Menouthesias or Menouthias is taken to be Zanzibar or Pemba; while the coast to the north was called Barbaria, and the country more inland was known as Azania and believed to abound in elephants. Whether or not particular places can be identified, the names are at least interesting evidence of the existence of some considerable commerce.

After the rise of Mohammedanism the connexion between East Africa and Arabia continued, but it appears for a long time to have been rather commercial than political. Notices of various towns on the coast are found in the Arab writers. Massoudi, writing in the tenth century, speaks of the East Coast as known down to Sofala, and of Mussulman colonists. Edrisi, who in the twelfth century lived at the court of King Roger of Sicily, mentions Mombasa and Melinde, but apparently without any accurate knowledge on the subject. The great traveller Ibn Batuta in 1331 visited Magadoxo, then a place of considerable prosperity and importance, and a centre of Mohammedan influence, and he also passed a night at Mombasa, where he found the people all 'very pious, chaste, and virtuous.' Mombasa, however, was then of much less importance than it was in Portuguese days, and Kilwa would seem to have been the principal port on the coast before the arrival of Europeans.

In 1497, Vasco da Gama set out on his far-famed voyage to India round the Cape. He was the first European in modern times to sail up the East Coast of Africa. At most

¹ This work was written by a Greek merchant settled at Berenice, in South Egypt. The information contained in it is on the whole full and accurate, and it dates probably from the end of the first century A.D. (see M^cCrindle's edition).

places he was received with suspicion and distrust, and at Mombasa, which, like Kilwa, was a 'great city of trade with many ships,' a treacherous attempt was made to wreck his vessels. The Sheikh of Melinde, however, the enemy of Mombasa, received him most hospitably, and made a treaty of peace which was kept with scrupulous good faith. On his return voyage Da Gama touched at Zanzibar. Everywhere along the coast the Portuguese found evidences of commercial prosperity. The Mohammedans dominated the principal towns, a regular trade was established with the Malabar coast of India, and the Sheikh of Melinde, which is described as 'a great city of noble buildings and surrounded by walls,' told Da Gama that wheat (which was not grown in the country) was brought for him by merchants from Cambay. To the Portuguese the East Coast of Africa must have seemed to be well worth acquiring for its own sake, apart from the fact that its acquisition in whole or part was indispensable to them, in those days of small, slow-sailing vessels, as the stepping-stone to India. Nor was there any power on the coast capable of serious resistance. The individual cities may have been rich, but they had no organisation which could cope with the military resources of Portugal. The Portuguese, therefore, soon became masters of the principal points on the eastern shores of Africa. Don Francisco de Almeida, who sailed from Lisbon in 1505 to be Viceroy of India, took and fortified Kilwa on his way, and attacked and burnt Mombasa. This town, unlike Melinde whose Sheikhs were consistently friendly, was a constant thorn in the side of the Portuguese, and the importance of its position and the turbulence of its rulers are proved by the repeated sieges which the town has undergone. Almeida, with the assistance of Tristan da Cunha, established the Portuguese power on the coast of India; and when Albuquerque succeeded him, Socotra, Muscat, and Hormuz, the key of the Persian Gulf, were Portuguese. Already, in 1501, the King of Portugal

had assumed the title of 'Lord of the navigation, conquest, and commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and India,' and the title was justified, when off Diu, in 1508, the Soldan of Cairo's fleet was encountered and destroyed. That fleet had been equipped by Venetian money, for the merchants of Venice foresaw the closing of the Red Sea; and its annihilation left the Portuguese for many years without rivals in the Indian Ocean. They were supreme in all the eastern seas, when in 1580 Portugal passed to the Spanish crown.

Their dominion, however, was in the main a coast dominion, and nowhere more so than in East Africa. In 1528, one of their captains, Nuno da Cunha, son of Tristan, again took and burned Mombasa; but, except for some expeditions to Monomotapa¹, they do not appear to have tried to penetrate into the interior. Their tenure even of the coast proved to be very insecure, as soon as it was put to the test. As early as 1586, a single Turkish ship (the Turks being by that time masters of Egypt), under one Ali Bey, who had already sacked Muscat, raised the whole coast in revolt between Magadoxo and Mombasa, Melinde alone remaining loyal; and, though the rising was at the time suppressed, Ali Bey returned in 1589, and entrenched himself at Mombasa, which was only retaken by the Portuguese with native help. In 1592, Mombasa again gave trouble, a Portuguese fortress was established there, and the town became the capital of the northern province, Mozambique being capital of the southern.

The end of the sixteenth century saw the beginning of the decline of the Portuguese power in the East, and other

¹ There was an expedition in 1569 under Barreto, and others later, none of which resulted in any permanent extension of Portuguese power. The empire of Monomotapa, which is described by the old Portuguese writers as a brilliant and powerful state, seems to have covered pretty well what is now called Matabeleland. The accounts of its greatness, however, appear to be very fanciful and untrustworthy.

European nations began to appear in the Indian Ocean. In 1591-3, the first English voyage to the East Indies had taken place under Captain Lancaster, who stayed for several months at Zanzibar ; and four years later the Dutch made their first voyage under Houtman. In 1607, the Dutch burned the town of Mozambique, though they failed to take the citadel, and they attacked it again with a similar result in the following year. These attacks were, however, the exception. English and Dutch alike were too much occupied in the Persian Gulf, in India itself, and in the far East, to find time for interfering on the East Coast of Africa. The Portuguese therefore remained in possession, as it were, on sufferance. Their posts were few and weak ; Mozambique and Mombasa alone could claim to be fortresses of any considerable strength. At the latter there was a custom-house, and a ship was sent up every year as far as Cape Guardafui to collect dues. Everywhere else the Portuguese lost ground, partly because the tax on the strength of so small a people was too great, partly because their maladministration alienated the natives, partly owing to the disastrous influence of the union of Portugal to the Spanish crown, involving, as it did, the hostility of the Dutch. Hormuz fell in 1622 ; Malacca in 1640 ; thirty years later the Portuguese had nearly been driven out of India. In 1651 they were expelled from Muscat, and then the Arabs began to dislodge them from the East Coast of Africa. The task was not difficult, and the inhabitants of most of the towns, particularly Mombasa, welcomed the invaders. In 1698, the Imâm of Muscat, Seif bin Sultan, established his authority at Mombasa, and all semblance of Portuguese authority disappeared north of Cape Delgado.

The Imâms of Muscat ruled over part of South-eastern Arabia. The title Imâm has a half-religious signification, but, to whatever reverence its holders may have been entitled from the true believer, their position was endangered by

continual conspiracies and feuds. It was not likely that such rulers would exercise any very strict authority over the towns of the East African coast, and, in point of fact, their dominion was most precarious. In 1728, Portugal even succeeded in regaining for a moment possession of Putta and Mombasa. But the Portuguese were not the chief troublers of the peace. Continual petty warfare disturbed the coast, and Mombasa fought with Zanzibar or Putta, while the Imâm contented himself with sending ships at intervals to collect ivory or slaves or to make an occasional assertion of his authority. Hence the Arab dominion down to the present century offers but few points of interest. Like that of the Portuguese it was essentially weak and superficial, the prosperity which Vasco da Gama found had to a great extent disappeared, and the importance of Zanzibar was yet to be developed.

With the nineteenth century a new era began. Seyyid Said became possessed of power in Muscat. He appears to have realised how great were the capabilities of Zanzibar, and setting to work to consolidate his African dominions he ultimately took up his residence, with occasional visits to Muscat, entirely at Zanzibar. The process of consolidation involved the subjugation of many recalcitrant Sheikhs. Mombasa, as usual, proved particularly troublesome, and, though the town was ultimately secured, its resistance has a particular interest attaching to it in that the British flag was actually hoisted there for a short time. In 1823, Captain Owen, who was engaged at the time in surveying the coast in His Majesty's ship *Leven*, arrived at the port and, subject to the approval of His Majesty's Government, accepted an offer from the party opposed to Seyyid Said to cede the island and its dependencies to Great Britain. He then sailed away, leaving an officer with a few men in the fort. Seyyid Said protested energetically, declaring that 'the sun is not more manifest than is my love and constant attach-

ment to your Majesty's Government and to that branch especially that rules over Hindostan, in whose confidence and good will I increase daily.' He argued that Mombasa had been conquered by Oman, and that the Omani Government had always appointed the Wali or Governor; and he complained that Captain Owen had employed his visit, the object of which had been announced to be a marine survey, in a different and a hostile manner. These arguments prevailed, and Captain Owen's action was not upheld.

During Seyyid Said's long reign the importance of Zanzibar increased greatly. For an Oriental ruler he was a man of considerable enlightenment, greatly attached to Englishmen and everything English. He died at sea in the year 1856. His sons disputed as to the succession, but the Government of India was interested in maintaining peace, and the Viceroy induced the claimants to submit to arbitration. Under Lord Canning's award Seyyid Majid was declared ruler of Zanzibar and of the African dominions of Seyyid Said; and henceforth the political connexion with Muscat, which passed to another son, was severed for ever; for, though the ruler of Zanzibar was required to pay a yearly subsidy of 40,000 crowns to the ruler of Muscat, it was laid down that this annual payment was not to be understood as in any way modifying the independence of Zanzibar. The decision was for the best interests of both countries, as the connexion had never at any time been mutually advantageous. It is true that there had been a considerable influx of Arabs into East Africa, and that Zanzibar had prospered greatly during Seyyid Said's reign, so much so that, whereas the port had been described in 1834 as having little or no trade, in 1860 its trade was worth a million and a half sterling; but this prosperity was largely due to the fact that Seyyid Said neglected Oman, which was more than usually turbulent in consequence. In fact the distance between the countries

was too great for an administration of the Arab type to be efficient in both at once.

From about the middle of the nineteenth century dates a new era in East African history, characterised by the active interference of Europeans. Europeans, as has been seen, had already at one time held the coast, but they had been driven away, leaving few traces behind. The new intervention of Europe took in the first instance the form of geographical, philanthropic, and missionary enterprise; but it brought in its train the establishment of European administration, the administration of English, Germans, and Italians, instead of Portuguese.

It was just before the close of the first half of the century that the missionary Rebmann discovered Mount Kilimanjaro, and the missionary Krapf discovered Mount Kenia. In 1858, Captain, afterwards Sir Richard, Burton and Captain Speke penetrated to Lake Tanganyika, and the latter was the first European to see the Victoria Nyanza. In 1863, Captains Speke and Grant made their way through what is now German East Africa to the Victoria Nyanza, through Uganda to the Nile, and down the Nile to Egypt. Meanwhile Mr., afterwards Sir Samuel, Baker forced his way with great difficulty up the White Nile to Gondokoro, where he met Speke and Grant. He then marched overland to the Albert Lake, through which he discovered that the Nile flowed. In 1871, he was sent by the Khedive Ismail to annex to Egypt the upper reaches of the Nile, and to suppress slave-raiding, on which occasion he penetrated as far as Masindi in Unyoro, meeting with great opposition from Kabbarega, the King of Unyoro, an active opponent of Europeans.

In 1875, Mr. Stanley, in crossing Africa, travelled round the Victoria Nyanza and visited Uganda; and his description of the country and the people had great effect in arousing missionary effort. In 1889, after marching up the Congo and through the great forest which clothes its upper basin, he

reached the Albert Lake, discovered Mount Ruwenzori, and explored the Albert Edward Lake. Captain Lugard in the same region, Mr. Thomson in Masailand, Count Teleki round Lakes Rudolf and Stephanie, and many other explorers, brought finally to light all the principal features of what became British East Africa.

While the interior was being explored, Zanzibar continued to flourish as a place of considerable commerce. It was the usual starting-point for all expeditions, and it enjoyed unbroken peace, chiefly due to the Government of India, who, having important interests to protect, maintained a Resident there. It has been noticed that from early Arab times there had been a close connexion between East Africa and India, and the East Coast of Africa had gradually become settled with Indian traders. In 1873, Sir Bartle Frere, who was sent on a special mission to Zanzibar to inquire into the slave trade, reported that, though the slave trade in the far interior was almost exclusively in the hands of Arabs or Arab half-castes, all banking and mercantile business throughout the Zanzibar coast-line passed through Indian hands. The Indian traders made advances to the caravans starting for the interior as well as to the landowners, and they controlled the customs throughout the Sultan's dominions. At Zanzibar itself the Sultan's¹ power was absolute, except over the greater Arabs, who regarded themselves as in some sort his equals, but his hold over the mainland coast from Cape Delgado to Warsheik, the most northerly post actually occupied, is described by Frere as having been most superficial. He laid claim indeed to the interior, and his name appears to have had some influence as far as Lake Tanganyika. But there was no attempt at administration, and even near the sea he held little more than posts in which weak garrisons were stationed.

Such a State could offer little resistance to pressure from

¹ It is to be remarked that the so-called 'Sultan' of Zanzibar was not known to the Arabs either as Sultan or Imâm, but simply as Seyyid, i.e. Lord, a title first borne by Seyyid Said.

a European power, and, writing as late as 1893, Sir Gerald Portal declared that, only two years before, Zanzibar was an instance of the worst type of Arab despotism. But any account of Zanzibar before the last few years would be incomplete without a sketch of the slave trade, which has so often led directly or indirectly to British interference.

It would be vain to attempt to trace the origin of the slave trade on the East Coast of Africa. In some form the traffic no doubt existed from the earliest times, and the advent of the Portuguese administration in no way checked it. Lin-schoten, the pioneer of the Dutch in the East, whose work was published in 1596, expressly states that 'from Mozambique great numbers of Caffres (negroes) are carried into India, and many times they sell a man or a woman that is grown to their full strength for two or three ducats.' Other travellers testified to the existence of a great slave market at Goa. It is probable, however, that the slave trade, at least in Arab hands, was never so flourishing as in the nineteenth century, when the suppression of piracy in the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf had rendered the traffic safe.

The first attempt to check the trade was made by the English in 1820, when a clause was inserted in a treaty restraining Arab chieftains in the Persian Gulf from carrying off slaves from the coast of Africa, such action being declared to be piracy.

In 1822, a treaty was concluded by the British Government with the Imâm of Muscat, which was intended to abolish the foreign slave trade. The sale of slaves to any Christian nation was prohibited, and British cruisers were authorised to seize any offending vessels to the east of a line drawn from Cape Delgado, past the eastern end of Socotra, to Diu at the head of the Gulf of Cambay. The Imâm also agreed to the establishment of a British agent at Zanzibar to watch the trade. These engagements were renewed and confirmed in 1839, and at the same time the area within which the trade

was allowed was further restricted. By another treaty, concluded in 1845, the export of slaves from Seyyid Said's African dominions was forbidden, together with the importation of slaves from any part of Africa into his Arabian dominions. Her Majesty's ships, and the ships of the East India Company, were authorised to seize any vessels with slaves on board, which were not engaged merely in transporting slaves from one part of the Sultan's African territory to another, between Kilwa to the south and Lamu to the north. By a decree of 1868, the transport of slaves between Kilwa and Lamu during the monsoon was also forbidden, and in the same year the Government of India found it necessary to issue a warning to natives of India against slave-owning or slave-trading. All these measures, however, as was expressly stated in the later treaty of 1873, failed to effect their object, and though British cruisers, at great cost of money and men, rendered slave-trading a hazardous occupation, they quite failed to suppress it.

The slave trade on the East Coast differed radically from that on the West Coast of Africa. It was not found very difficult to stamp out the West African traffic in slaves, when once its suppression had become a settled policy. The slave was carried from the West Coast to America as a special kind of merchandise, but on the East Coast the trade was inextricably mixed up with legitimate commerce. The master of an Arab 'dhow,' with a cargo of ordinary merchandise, would frequently take a slave or two on board to complete the freight, and it was often difficult or even impossible for naval officers to distinguish the slave from the freeman. Moreover, whereas the West African slave trade was in the hands of Europeans, the East African slave-traders were mainly Arabs, who found nothing in slavery repugnant to their laws or their religion. Sir Bartle Frere reported in 1873, that the treaty of 1845 had been broken ever since it was made. Framed with the intention

of not interfering with the status of domestic slavery, it resulted in enabling the slave-trader to escape the cruisers entirely as far as Lamu. In 1867-9, 116 dhows were taken with 2,645 slaves on board, while it was calculated that dhows carrying 37,000 slaves must have evaded detection. How unsuccessful were the attempts made to crush the slave trade by cruisers at sea is shown by the fact that, in 1890, the Directors of the Imperial British East Africa Company claimed during the short period of the Company's existence to have assured the liberation of over 4,000 slaves, while not more than an average of 150 were then annually released by cruisers. Sir Bartle Frere found that the Indians were gravely implicated in slave-trading; indeed, he avowed his belief that there were few classes at Zanzibar, except the better kind of Europeans and Americans, who were entirely exempt from connexion with the traffic. On the other hand, rather less than twenty years later, Sir Gerald Portal reported that he had never seen the slightest sign of Indians being concerned in the trade.

The new treaty, which was concluded in 1873, declared that the export of slaves from Africa, whether for transport from one point of the Sultan's dominions or not, was to cease, and that all public markets for buying or selling imported slaves were to be closed. By a further treaty of 1875, however, domestic slaves were allowed on board a ship if really used for the service of the vessel. Since that date, various edicts have been issued, notably one of great stringency on August 1, 1890, forbidding under severe penalties all traffic in slaves and allowing any slave to purchase his freedom. By an edict of September 20, 1889, all persons entering the Sultan's dominions after November 1, 1889, and by one of October 9, 1898, all persons born in his dominions after January 1, 1890, were declared free, so that slavery in these parts will soon become automatically a thing of the past.

The European powers have solemnly pledged themselves to free Africa from the evil of the slave trade. In 1886, by the general Act of the Conference of Berlin, the slave trade was forbidden in the conventional basin of the Congo ; and in 1890, by the general Act of the Brussels Conference, all the principal powers of the world, the Sultan of Zanzibar included, 'equally animated by the firm intention of putting an end to the crimes and devastation engendered by the traffic in African slaves,' declared certain measures, principally the establishment of a settled administration, the construction of roads and railways, and restrictions on the importation of firearms, to be the most effectual means of crushing the trade. Each power undertook by these or other means gradually to deal with the slave trade in its own possessions. If these large promises are kept, the traffic, which has been indigenous in Africa since the dawn of history, must in time disappear, and Great Britain may fairly claim that these international engagements are no more than an elaborate recognition by the world of a policy which she had been endeavouring for more than half a century to carry out.

In 1872, the British India Steam Navigation Company, whose chairman was Mr. (afterwards Sir William) Mackinnon, had established regular communication between India, Zanzibar, and Europe ; and in 1877, the Sultan actually offered to Mr. Mackinnon a concession of the whole of the Zanzibar coast-line. As the English Government, however, did not look on the project with any favour the matter dropped.

Within the next few years the Germans began to appear upon the scene, making treaties with chiefs on the mainland despite the protests of the Sultan ; and the grant of a charter by the Emperor of Germany to the Society for German Colonisation showed that the Imperial Government intended to lend its support to the schemes which its subjects

had taken in hand. Meanwhile English enterprise had not been idle, and it became necessary to settle by international agreement what belonged to the Sultan, and in what Spheres the English and Germans respectively should be at liberty to extend their influence. The agreement of 1886, between England and Germany, was important as at once settling the exact limits of the Sultanate of Zanzibar and defining, at least on the coast, the Spheres of Influence of the two powers. By this agreement the sovereignty of the Sultan of Zanzibar was confirmed over the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, Lamu, Mafia, and other smaller islands, and on the mainland over a strip of coast ten miles deep from Tungi Bay to Kipini. North of Kipini the stations of Kismayu, Brava, Meurka, Magadoxo, and Warsheik were recognised as belonging to Zanzibar. The arrangement between England and Germany was confined to the country between the Rovuma and Tana Rivers, and a line was drawn from the mouth of the Umba, past Lake Jipe, skirting the northern base of Kilimanjaro, to the point where the eastern side of Lake Victoria is intersected by the first degree of south latitude. England agreed not to make acquisitions of territory, accept protectorates, or interfere with the extension of German influence to the south of this line, and Germany made a similar engagement with regard to the north. In 1862, France and England had both engaged to respect the independence of Zanzibar, and Germany now adhered to that declaration.

A further effect of this agreement was that the Sultan leased to the German Company the customs of the ports of their Sphere of Influence, and in 1887 a similar concession on the coast between the Umba River and Kipini, near the mouth of the Tana, was granted to the British East African Association. This Association afterwards received a royal charter, being incorporated on September 3, 1888, under the name of the Imperial British East Africa Com-

pany, and to its efforts, guided by Sir William Mackinnon, the spread of English influence in East Africa has been mainly due.

But it was evident that the arrangement which had been made with Germany could not be final, because it contained no definite provision for the partition of the far interior, whereas the new masters of Africa valued the coast not merely for its own sake but also for the sake of the country which lay behind. The rivalry was keen, and the English Company, though placed somewhat at a disadvantage (for the Germans had not only established themselves to the south of them, but also at Witu to the north), spared neither exertions nor expense in endeavouring to establish British influence in the interior, especially in Uganda. A fresh agreement between Great Britain and Germany became necessary, and was concluded on July 1, 1890. Under its provisions, the British Sphere is bounded to the south by a line drawn from the Umba River to Lake Victoria, leaving Kilimanjaro to Germany; the boundary is then continued along the first parallel of south latitude as far as the frontier of the Congo Free State, which is on the thirtieth degree of east longitude. The Congo Free State, with the western watershed of the basin of the Upper Nile, was to form the western limit. Germany also gave up Witu and retired definitely south of the Umba River, agreeing to recognise a British Protectorate over those parts of the Zanzibar dominions which lay between the Umba and the Juba Rivers. Already, on June 14, 1890, the Sultan had accepted the Protectorate of Great Britain, and by declarations between Great Britain and France dated August 5 following, the agreement of 1862, which had guaranteed the independence of Zanzibar, was modified; and in exchange for the recognition by Great Britain of a French Protectorate over Madagascar, France recognised a British Protectorate over the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba.

In 1891, an agreement was signed with Italy, making the boundary between the British and Italian Spheres the thalweg or mid-channel of the River Juba up to the sixth degree of north latitude. The port of Kismayu with its territory on the right bank of the river is thus left to Great Britain. The boundary follows the sixth parallel of north latitude till it intersects the meridian 35° east of Greenwich. This meridian is then followed up to the Blue Nile.

These various arrangements completed for the time being the delimitation of the British Sphere ; and, until the agreement with the Congo Free State was signed on May 12, 1894, no further boundary questions with foreign powers arose. By this last agreement¹ the frontier of the Sphere of Influence of the Independent State of the Congo, to the north of the German Sphere, is taken to be the thirtieth meridian east of Greenwich up to the watershed between the Congo and the Nile, which watershed is then followed in a northerly and north-westerly direction. The country between the Nile, the Congo watershed, and the twenty-fifth meridian of east longitude, as far as the tenth degree of north latitude, is leased to King Leopold as sovereign of the Congo State, and that part of it which lies west of the thirtieth meridian to his successors, so long as the Congo territories remain an independent state or a Belgian colony under the sovereignty of the present royal family of Belgium. Provision is also made for giving the Congo State access to the Albert Lake at Mahagi ; and a declaration is added to the effect that no political rights in the Nile basin will be sought by the Congo State except such as are conceded by the terms of the treaty. The area of territory reserved to Great Britain, as gradually delimited by the successive treaties, was and is immense. Legitimate trade there was none, except on the coast, nor could such trade be expected when the cost of carriage from the lakes to the sea averaged

¹ For other provisions of the agreement, see above, pp. 107-8 and note.

about £300 a ton, a price which prohibited the transport of everything except ivory. Local administration of any kind was almost non-existent, and there was a complete absence of roads. To deal with all the difficulties which presented themselves, there were but two organisations of any importance, the East Africa Company and the missions, and the missions were unfortunately weakened by dissensions among themselves. In East Africa, as in many other parts of the world, territorial acquisition has been thrust upon the British Government without being sought. That of its own motion the Government would never have taken over this great tract of land admits of no reasonable doubt. At any time during half a century Great Britain might have secured the area which it now holds or claims, and in fact a far larger area, without risk of serious opposition ; yet not only was the effort never made, but when the opportunity offered, it was deliberately rejected. It was only under pressure of foreign competition that the rulers of England reluctantly moved forward, adding with no light heart a new province to a heavily weighted empire.

No attempt was made at first to introduce the direct administration of the Crown : but before the whole of British East Africa, as now marked on the maps, had been acquired, the English turned instinctively to the familiar machinery of a Chartered Company. It has already been stated that in 1887 the British East African Association received from the Sultan of Zanzibar the concession of the coast between the Umba River and Kipini, and that in 1888 it was incorporated by royal charter as the Imperial British East Africa Company. The reasons for the grant, which were advanced by the petitioners and stated in the charter itself, are worthy of notice. Mention was made of the Sultan's concession, and of agreements made with chiefs and tribes in the territories beyond the limits of that concession. The improvement of the condition of the natives and the

suppression of the slave trade were put forward as objects to be attained, and the advantage to British commercial interests in the Indian Ocean especially involved in the possession of Mombasa was not overlooked. The charter authorised the Company to hold and retain their various grants and concessions, and to exercise the powers necessary for government, for preserving public order, and protecting their territories. The Company were further empowered to make fresh treaties and acquisitions subject to the approval of the Secretary of State.

From the first the Directors had an uphill task. In 1888, a general revolt against the establishment of German authority on the coast of the German Sphere, which was followed by a combined blockade of the coast by Great Britain and Germany, was only prevented with difficulty from spreading to the English Sphere, and the fears of the Arabs and their hatred of the missions, whom they accused of harbouring runaway slaves, threatened an outbreak, which was only averted by the tact of the administrator, Mr. Mackenzie. Notwithstanding these difficulties, no time was lost in proceeding with the work of opening up the interior. Expeditions under Emin Pasha, whom Stanley had brought back to the coast in 1889, and Dr. Peters, who was moving up the Tana River, gave ground for fear that Uganda would be annexed by Germany. The Company therefore determined to take immediate steps to secure that territory for Great Britain. Uganda was visited in May, 1890, by an expedition under Mr. Jackson; and in December of the same year, when the Anglo-German agreement had been already signed, Captain Lugard crossed the Nile and encamped at Mengo, the capital of Uganda.

The kingdom of Uganda, though in the very heart of Africa, had been, for some years, far better known than many parts nearer the coast. Speke had passed through it and described it, and Stanley, in 1875, had roused the missionary

enthusiasm of Europe by his account of its people. The Church Missionary Society, which since 1837 had maintained a mission on the coast, whose pioneers were Krapf and Rebmann, responded to the appeal ; and in April, 1876, the first missionary party started for Uganda. Since that day the Mission has never entirely ceased its work, though frequently exposed to every kind of difficulty and persecution. To its success no man contributed so much as Alexander Mackay. Mackay was a Scotchman by birth, who gave up his profession as an engineer in order to devote himself to missionary work. Endowed with great courage and tenacity of purpose, he also commanded the admiration of the natives by his mechanical skill and ingenuity. From his arrival in 1878 until his death in 1890, he remained at work, and his devotion to the duty which he laid upon himself makes a bright page in the gloomy history of the time.

Shortly after the establishment in Uganda of the Church Missionary Society, a Roman Catholic mission was also established there, and the proximity of the two missions led afterwards to unfortunate consequences. During the reign of King Mtesa the Christians, though often in difficulties, made considerable progress ; but, when he died in 1884, his successor, Mwanga, persecuted the infant churches with great ferocity, and in 1885 caused the murder of Bishop Hannington when travelling through Usoga to Uganda. Mwanga's rule became so intolerable that in 1888 he was driven out, and the Arabs set up a nominee of their own in his place, expelling the missions. The Christians united to restore Mwanga and break up the Mohammedan domination, which object they successfully achieved in 1890.

Such was the condition of affairs when Captain Lugard arrived at Mengo and concluded a treaty with Mwanga, under which the authority of the Company was recognised. The Protestant and Catholic factions, which were to some extent political, being known respectively as the English and

French (Wa Ingleza and Wa Franza), were, despite their recent alliance, very bitter against each other, and Lugard found continued difficulty in maintaining peace. The two parties united, however, to repel the attacks of the exiled Mohammedans, supported by Kabbarega, the King of Unyoro. Leaving Captain Williams to take command of Kampala, the Company's fort in Uganda, Captain Lugard himself marched through Buddu, the southern province of Uganda, and Ankoli, which was annexed to the Company's territory, as far as the Albert Edward Lake. Here he constructed a fort to protect a salt lake¹, which he considered of great value, and later went northwards along the base of Ruwenzori, the great snow-capped mountain lying between the Albert Edward and Albert Lakes, over the rich valley of the Semliki, to the Albert Lake, establishing a chain of forts along the frontiers of Southern Unyoro. A considerable force from the old Egyptian garrisons of the Equatorial province, who had served under Emin Pasha, were encamped near the lake at Kavallis². These men he enlisted in the Company's service. In his absence Captain Williams had with difficulty succeeded in keeping the peace in Uganda between the rival factions of Protestants and Catholics, and soon after Captain Lugard's return civil war broke out. On January 20, 1892, a Catholic murdered a Protestant. The king, Mwanga, who was then under the influence of the Catholic party, refused justice, and a few days later the whole country was in a blaze. Considering the Catholics to be the aggressors, Lugard lent the Protestants his support, and ultimately obliged the Catholics to come to terms, a treaty being signed, by which they were confined to the district of Buddu as long as they bore arms, though allowed

¹ Opinions have differed as to the value of the lake.—See Sir G. Portal in *C.* 7,303, p. 17.

² So called from the name of the chief. Except in Uganda it is customary to name places in this way. The custom often gives rise to great confusion owing to the continual change of name.

to remain in other parts of the country if unarmed. Subsequently, by the exercise of great tact and courage, he induced the Mohammedan pretender to the throne, Mbogo, to surrender and come to Kampala. He then left to return to Europe on June 16, 1892.

At home, meanwhile, events had been moving fast. The Company was beginning to feel the excessive drain on its resources, not supplemented, like those of the German East African Company, by government aid; and, in the summer of 1891, the Directors resolved to withdraw their establishment in Uganda, at any rate for a time. When their decision became known, public attention was attracted, and the Church Missionary Society raised £16,000 from its supporters to enable the Company to retain their ground. This they engaged to do till the end of 1892, and the withdrawal was further postponed till March 31, 1893, at the special request of Her Majesty's Government, who undertook to repay expenses, intending to give time for a Special Commission of Inquiry to reach Uganda. Considerable interest was also aroused in England in the railway which it was proposed to construct from Mombasa to Lake Victoria. The Company hoped for the assistance of government in this task, which was clearly beyond their means; but the only help given by the State was the sum of £20,000 voted by Parliament, in March, 1892, for a survey, which was subsequently made by Captain Macdonald, and which proved the feasibility of the work from an engineering point of view.

The news of the civil war in Uganda, which reached England in 1892, gave rise to much controversy; and, when a change of government occurred later in the year, rumours were circulated that it was intended to withdraw altogether from Uganda. The idea was almost universally condemned. The religious and commercial worlds were united on the subject, and it was felt that, whatever might have been urged

against the acquisition of the country in the first instance, it would be impossible without dishonour to recede from the pledges given to the native populations. The Special Commissioner chosen to proceed to Uganda was Sir Gerald Portal, then Consul-general at Zanzibar, who had previously served in Egypt and had carried out a difficult mission to Abyssinia. Instructed 'to frame a report as expeditiously as may be on the best means of dealing with the country, whether through Zanzibar or otherwise,' he started on his journey on January 1, 1893, crossed the Nile on March 12, and entered the fort of Kampala five days later. He found that no fresh disturbances had occurred during Captain Williams's administration, and concluded a new treaty with King Mwanga. By this treaty it was stipulated, in view of the definite withdrawal of the Company, that Uganda should enjoy British protection, that no warlike operations should be undertaken without the leave of Her Majesty's representative, who was also empowered to act, if he thought fit, as a Court of Appeal to the natives, and that slave-trading and slave-raiding should cease. The whole arrangement was, however, made subject to the approval of Her Majesty's Government. Leaving Captain Macdonald, who had originally been employed in the Railway Survey, as Acting Commissioner in Uganda and its dependencies, Usoga and Kavirondo, Sir Gerald Portal started for the coast on May 30. His return journey was interrupted by a Mohammedan rising in Uganda, complicated by a fear of mutiny among some of the Soudanese troops; but the outbreak was quelled without much difficulty, and he resumed his march, not following the ordinary route to Mombasa but descending the Tana River. The difficulties which he encountered showed that the river was not available as an alternative route into the interior. At Zanzibar he wrote his now historical report, dated November 1, 1893, and presented to Parliament in the following March. In it he expressed a decided opinion

- against abandoning the country. 'The withdrawal of all English control,' he said, 'from Uganda and the surrounding countries would mean that the trust of these peoples in English promises and English credit, which has hitherto formed a marked contrast to their opinions of other European countries, would be so completely broken that any future extension of British enterprise will be impossible, except by force of arms, until confidence may be restored in a future generation.' It would mean, he continued, imperilling the missionary work already done, and would shake the position of Europeans throughout East and Central Africa. His opinion that civil war would certainly come was supported both by Bishop Tucker, the Anglican Bishop of Eastern Equatorial Africa, and by Monseigneur Hirth, the Roman Catholic Vicar-Apostolic of the Nyanza. He further pointed out that the intervening country was mainly valuable as the road to Uganda, and that withdrawal from Uganda would therefore practically entail the restriction of British influence to the coast, and 'a renunciation on the part of England of any important participation in the present work of development, in the suppression of slavery, and in the future commerce of East and Central Africa.' Administration either directly or indirectly by Zanzibar he condemned, whereas the establishment of a regular colonial administration would, he considered, be ruinously expensive. He therefore recommended that control should be maintained over the Sphere of Influence by the appointment of Commissioners, with a sufficient force and staff at their disposal to assure their safety, their political ascendancy, and the security of other Europeans living in the country. He pointed out, however, that any system of administration or plan for the improvement of the country must be of the nature of a make-shift, unless a railway was laid down for at least part of the way into the interior. Such a railway, he maintained, would not only efficiently check the slave trade, but also attract the

commerce of all the lake countries. His opinion was clear that the Company had on the whole failed, although to its founders belonged 'the sole credit of the acquisition for the benefit of British commerce of this great potential market for British goods,' an acquisition made without bloodshed and by their own unaided efforts ; and he recommended that the Company should cease to exist as a political or administrative body, either in the interior, that is, in the great Sphere reserved to their operations by the Royal Charter, or within the narrower limits of the concession granted to them by the Sultan of Zanzibar.

When the report was written, the Company only held two stations outside the Sultan's concessions, one on the way to the lake at Kikuyu, and a smaller station at Machakos. In July, 1893, they had withdrawn from the administration of Witu, though still maintaining their rights over the territory, and thus had ceased to administer any of the coast north of the Tana. Their withdrawal from Witu had largely been due to the turbulence of the Sultan Omari, against whom military operations were later found necessary.

Eventually, after lengthy negotiations between the Company and the Foreign Office, the former reluctantly agreed, in March, 1895, to the proposal of the Government that they should surrender their charter and their concession from Zanzibar, together with all their property and rights in East Africa, with the exception of certain cash, debts, and loans, for the sum of £250,000. Of this sum Zanzibar was to find £200,000, in return for the surrender of the concession and the Company's property, while the balance of £50,000 was to be granted by the Imperial Parliament as compensation for the loss of the charter. British East Africa thus ceased to be in the keeping of a Chartered Company.

Before these negotiations were concluded, indeed immediately upon the publication of Sir Gerald Portal's report, the Government announced their intention to establish a

British Protectorate over Uganda, leaving open the question of a railway. The Protectorate was proclaimed on the spot, at the end of August, 1894, and was officially declared to comprise 'Uganda Proper bounded by the territories known as Usoga, Unyoro, Ankoli, and Koki.' Before the year 1894 closed, Colonel Colville, Acting British Commissioner in Uganda, found it necessary to take forcible measures against Kabbarega, the truculent King of Unyoro, and the operations initiated by him and completed by Major Cunningham ended in the defeat of the king and in the pacification of the country. The years 1895 and 1896 were years of peace, but in 1899 the mutiny of the Soudanese troops caused the whole country to be again the scene of bloodshed. Both Mwanga and Kabbarega joined forces with the mutineers, and it was not till the close of 1899 that peace was again restored, both Mwanga¹ and Kabbarega being captured and deported to the coast.

At present the British position in East Africa may be summed up as follows. Zanzibar and Pemba are still formally governed by the Sultan under a British Protectorate; a British Protectorate has been proclaimed over Uganda, which, as notified on June 30, 1896, includes also Unyoro, Usoga, and other territories to the west and east²; while, by the notice of August 31, 1896, supplementing a previous notice of June 15, 1895, 'all the territories in East Africa under the Protectorate of Her Majesty, except the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba and the Uganda Protectorate, are for the purposes of administration included in one Protectorate, under the name of the East Africa Protectorate³.' The main efforts of the Government have been directed

¹ Mwanga died at Seychelles in May, 1903.

² By subsequent treaties, British administration has spread over other countries adjoining Uganda proper. The present boundaries of the Uganda Protectorate are on the east British East Africa, on the south German East Africa, on the west the Congo Free State, and on the north the southward extension of the Egyptian Soudan.

³ See p. 153 for present extent of the East Africa Protectorate.

to giving security to the coast region, and to opening and maintaining communication between the lakes and the sea. A railroad now runs between Mombasa on the coast and Port Florence, at the north-eastern corner of Lake Victoria Nyanza. The total distance is 580 miles ; owing to difficulties of transport and other reasons the cost of making it amounted to over £5,500,000.

The total area of British East Africa has been taken to be over 1,200,000 square miles, being rather more than one-third of the size of the Canadian Dominion ; but this estimate is worth very little, for the inland boundary on the north is quite indefinite. It adjoins German East Africa on the south, the Italian Sphere on the north, and the Congo Free State on the west.

Below its southernmost boundary on the mainland, a British Protectorate covers the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, together with the islet of Tumbato. Zanzibar is over 600 square miles in area, about four-fifths of the size of Mauritius ; and the area of Pemba is between 350 and 400 square miles.

The southernmost limit of the mainland territory is the mouth of the Umba River, in $4^{\circ}40'$ south latitude ; and its northernmost limit on the coast is the mouth of the Juba River, a few miles south of the Equator ; but far the greater part of British East Africa is north of the Equator, and therefore north of the point where its coast-line ends. The line of greatest length into the interior is from south-east to north-west.

The coast between the Umba and the Juba Rivers runs in a north-easterly direction, the distance between the two points being about 400 miles. About 160 miles from the Umba River, and 240 from the Juba, the main mouth of the Tana River runs into the sea, dividing the coast-line into two sections. To the south of the Tana are Melinde and Mombasa, both in old days towns of importance, though

the former is now of small account. Mombasa is the chief port on the coast, and was selected by the Imperial British East Africa Company as their administrative centre. It lies in 4° south latitude, about fifty-five miles north of the Umba River, and about 150 miles from the town of Zanzibar. The town of Mombasa is on the eastern side of a small island, about three miles in length, by one and a half in breadth, connected with the continent by a causeway. Behind the island two arms of the sea run into the mainland, forming excellent harbours. Mombasa is a place of considerable and growing trade, a starting-point for the interior, and the terminus of the railway to Lake Victoria. Sixty-five miles north of Mombasa, past the mouth of the Kilifi River, is Melinde, near the mouth of the Sabaki River, with a fair anchorage; and forty miles beyond Melinde the Tana enters the sea. At the northern mouth of the Tana Delta is Kipini and the Witu coast; and about thirty miles north of Kipini is Lamu island and harbour, in 2.15° south latitude. Lamu is the second port in point of trade on the coast of British East Africa, coming next in importance to Mombasa, from which it is about 150 miles distant. Further north, the coast is lined, almost up to the Juba River, by a series of coral reefs and islets, the only two anchorages of any note being Port Durnford and Kismayu. Kismayu is a bay about twelve miles south of the mouth of the Juba, and the settlement upon it, of comparatively recent origin, is likely to grow with the development of the Juba districts.

Taken as a whole, the coast of British East Africa is more accessible than the shores of South Africa, having convenient islets lying off the mainland; but here, as in Southern Africa, there is a want of open estuaries and of easy river communication with the interior. The Juba, the Tana, and the Sabaki are the principal rivers which run to the Indian Ocean in these latitudes. Both the Juba and the Tana, like other African rivers, have bars at their mouths; and, though they

have in either case been ascended by a light steamer for between 300 and 400 miles, they offer no great facilities for navigation. Still less valuable as a water-way is the shorter and smaller Sabaki River, navigable for small boats only for not more than sixty or seventy miles from the sea. In its upper course it is known as the Athi, to the north of and roughly parallel to the railway to Lake Victoria.

As British Central Africa contains the headwaters of the Congo, so within the limits of British East Africa are to be found the sources of the Nile. The Somerset or the Victoria Nile is the outlet of the Victoria Nyanza. Flowing out of the northern end of the great lake, and beginning its downward course with the Ripon Falls, it takes its way to the north and north-west through marsh and lake, and subsequently, turning due west, descends abruptly in the Murchison Falls, and enters the northern end of the Albert Nyanza. The Albert Nyanza is the receptacle of the Semliki River, which in turn drains the Albert Edward Nyanza, and flows from the latter lake to the former with a north-easterly course of some 150 miles. Gathered into the Albert Nyanza, the furthest to the north of the group or chain of lakes which modern discovery has brought to view in Central Africa, the headwaters of the Nile start on their long course to the Mediterranean, a wonder still though no longer unknown.

Great in extent, East Africa is great also in its natural features. It is a land of high mountains and of inland seas. The highest mountain probably in Africa, Kilimanjaro, lies on its southern frontier, but just outside the boundary line. It consists of two volcanic peaks, the higher of which reaches an altitude of nearly 20,000 feet. Within British East Africa, due north of Kilimanjaro and immediately under the Equator, is Kenia, snow-clad where on the steep cone snow will lie, nearly 19,000 feet in height, on whose slopes are the sources of the Tana River. Due west of

Kenia, far away beyond the Victoria Nyanza, between the Albert Edward and the Albert Nyanza, towering on the eastern side of the Semliki valley, are the Ruwenzori Mountains, explored by Stanley on his last expedition. These mountains too, though close to the Equator, have upon them perpetual snows, and their tops, as far as has been estimated, range from 16,000 to 18,000 feet. One other mountain may be specially mentioned, 14,000 feet high, Mount Elgon, volcanic and cavernous, lying due north of the eastern shore of the Victoria Nyanza.

In the partition of Africa, the English have gained or retained access to nearly all the great lakes of the interior. The western and southern shores of Lake Nyasa, the southern end of Tanganyika, nearly the whole of Bangweolo, and the half of Mweru are within British Central Africa. Further north, the boundary line between British and German East Africa runs across the Victoria Nyanza, leaving the northern half of the lake within the British dominion. The eastern shores of the Albert Edward Lake, and all the shores of the Albert Lake, are within British territory, but the northern shores of Lakes Rudolf and Stephanie may prove to belong to Abyssinia. The Victoria Nyanza, next to Lake Superior the largest fresh-water lake in the world, lies 3,800 feet above the level of the sea. It is nearly 800 miles in circumference, and has an area of about 27,000 square miles: in other words, it is not far short of the size of Scotland. West and north-west respectively of the Victoria Lake are Lakes Albert Edward and Albert, continuing the line of Nyasa, Tanganyika, and the comparatively small intervening Lake Kivu. They are both small lakes, when compared with the immense Victoria Nyanza, the open water of the Albert Lake, the larger of the two, being about 100 miles long with a breadth of twenty-five miles. The Albert Edward Lake is about 3,000 feet above the sea, and the Albert Lake, further north, about 2,300. About 300

miles north-east of the Victoria Nyanza lies Lake Samboru or Rudolf, and a little to the north-east again is the smaller Lake Stephanie. Lake Rudolf is about sixty miles long with an average breadth of twenty miles, and has an area of some 3,000 square miles. These are brackish lakes and land-locked, unconnected with the Nile basin and having no regular outlet to the sea. They lie at the northern end of a deep volcanic depression, which runs north and south parallel to the great inner chain of lakes, and which is marked by a series of smaller lakes such as Baringo, Naivasha, and others, continued south into the German Protectorate.

Roughly speaking, the interior of British East Africa, as at present known, falls into two main divisions—the upward slope from the coast to the central plateau of the continent, which is cleft from north to south by the depression to which reference has just been made; and the plateau itself, on which lie the great lakes. The lakes drain northwards in the channels of the Nile; and immediately to the west of them the surface of the land slopes downwards to form the Congo basin. On the northern and north-western side of the Victoria Nyanza is Uganda, west of the Somerset Nile, which divides it from the territory of Usoga; and behind Uganda, on the eastern side of the Albert Lake, is Unyoro. The distance from the coast in the neighbourhood of Mombasa in a straight line to the north-eastern corner of the Victoria Nyanza is about 420 miles. By the ordinary caravan road the distance from Mombasa to the lake is 703 miles.

The Uganda Protectorate now begins at the line of the Victoria Nyanza. Formerly it extended to the east to beyond 36° longitude; but in April, 1902, all the territory east of Lake Victoria was transferred to the East Africa Protectorate, which now consists of seven provinces—Jubaland, Tanaland, Seyidie, Ukamba, Kenya, Naivasha, and Kisumu.

Jubaland and Tanaland, which form the north-eastern provinces, unlike the rest of the Protectorate, are mainly flat. 'The most practical method of describing the geography of the interior is to follow the course of the Uganda railway. Starting from Mombasa, it runs north-west to Nairobi (5,450 feet high); it then crosses the Kikuyu escarpment (between 7,000 feet and 8,000 feet) and descends to Nakuru in the Rift valley. In this part the general direction is northerly. From Nakuru it turns west, and crossing the Mau escarpment (between 8,000 feet and 9,000 feet high) descends to the lake shore¹.'

The Kikuyu country is stated to be well adapted to European settlement. 'Ten years' experience shows that the climate is healthy and invigorating, and that European children born in the country can live and thrive there. The mean average temperature is 67° at 9 a.m. and 78° at noon, while the nights are much colder and the thermometer often goes down to 45° in the early morning. On the Settima range, about half a degree south of the Equator, I have experienced 1° of frost at 6 a.m.²' There is already a population of some hundred Europeans living in or near Nairobi. The water supply is plentiful. The staple crop is as yet potatoes, which are exported to Zanzibar and to Cape Colony. Dividing the Protectorate into the lowlands and the highlands, the lowlands are described as being everywhere a moderately rich tropical country, and in parts exceedingly rich. Copra and rubber are main articles of export, and the country seems well adapted to the cultivation of cotton and tobacco. In the highlands almost every sort of European vegetable and fruit can be grown in good quality and quantity.

Under the land settlement, introduced by Sir H. H. Johnston in 1900, the ruler of the kingdom of Uganda, styled

¹ *Report on the East Africa Protectorate*, by His Majesty's Commissioner. C. d 1626, 1903.

² *Ibid.*

Kabaka, and his chiefs are paid fixed allowances and receive definite estates.

For purposes of administration Uganda is divided into provinces and districts, the whole being under a Commissioner.

The principal districts included in the Protectorate are Uganda proper, Unyoro, Usoga, Kavirondo, Ankoli, and Toru. Each of these countries, we are told, differs as much from the others as from almost any country in Africa.

‘Uganda is a country of rounded hills of red clay and marl, the geological formation consisting of argillaceous sandstones. The hills are covered with pasture grass and divided by sluggish river swamps, choked with papyrus and other vegetation¹.’ The general level of the country is from 3,000 to 4,000 feet, and it is bisected by the Equator. In Uganda the mean temperature varies between 50° and 90°, and the annual rainfall is about 50 inches. In Unyoro the mean temperature varies from 63° to 93°, and the rainfall is about 60 inches. Sir Gerald Portal noted that during his stay in Uganda no twenty-four hours passed without thunder and lightning. The wettest months are April, May, and June, and November and December. Ivory, cattle, and rubber are at present the chief articles of export, and coffee-growing is receiving attention. Traces of gold have been found, and with the opening of the railway to the coast the riches of the country should receive development. Meanwhile its prosperity has been retarded by the ravages of the terrible disease known as ‘the sleeping sickness.’ Its victims are counted by thousands, and no case has yet been cured. An elaborate investigation is being made into the causes and nature of this dreadful malady.

Unyoro, which has been sometimes considered as part of Uganda, is a table-land from 3,000 to 4,000 feet above sea

¹ Gen. Lugard, in *The Story of the Uganda Protectorate*.

level, more rugged than Uganda, and falling sharply down to the Albert Lake.

The climate of the coast-line of East Africa has a bad repute for unhealthiness, but to the north of the Tana River it is dryer and healthier than further south. Inland, the healthiness or unhealthiness of the territory depends mainly upon the height above the sea. There are rich low-lying lands on the southern section of the coast; there are river valleys, though not so extensive as in the Zambesi region, whose alluvial soil favours cocoanut and India-rubber trees; the lake country is fertile and well suited for various plantation products, such as rice, cotton, and coffee; but the distance from the sea has hitherto proved prohibitive to cultivation for commercial purposes. The high plateaus, which the Masai held in the past, are described as consisting of grassy plains and rolling hills, well watered and with fine timber, well suited for cattle ranching and sheep-farming. The northern part of the British Sphere is little known, but the country round Lakes Rudolf and Stephanie was found by the explorer Count Teleki, in 1887, to be chiefly desert, and the parts near the Juba River are overgrown with dense forest. There is iron in the lake regions, and a growing number of prospectors are now in the Protectorate, looking for gold and trying to work the gold already found. Several shafts have actually been sunk. Ivory has been in times past the one great product brought down from the interior to the coast, but the trade has of late years much decreased.

Very various are the native races of British East Africa. This part of the continent is the meeting ground of Bantus, negroes, and the Hamitic and Semitic stocks of Northern Africa, over and above aboriginal dwarfish tribes corresponding to the Bushmen of the far south. On the coast are to be found a considerable number of Arabs, though rarely of pure blood, and the intermixture of the Eastern

and African races has produced the Swahilis, who, with the East Indians, are the principal traders of the coast. Between the Tana and the Juba Rivers are Somalis and Gallas, pastoral peoples of Hamitic origin: and probably akin to the same group are the warlike Masai, marauding nomads of fine physique and great natural intelligence, masters of the highlands which intervene between the upper waters of the Tana and the lake regions. It may be said generally that the ruling native races in East Africa were, at one time, the pastoral peoples who came from the north-east, while the more settled agriculturists, whom they dominated, were of Bantu or negro blood. Thus in Uganda the ruling class were the Wahuma or Wakuma, probably of Asiatic origin, shepherds and cattle owners, whose strength, like that of all the other pastoral tribes in East Africa, has declined owing to the devastations caused by cattle plague. At present, as herdsmen, they occupy a semi-servile position, but they are nevertheless regarded with respect, and the royal houses both of Uganda and Unyoro had a large admixture of their blood. Distinct from them in physical features and in mode of living are the mass of the population, the Waganda, a Bantu people, tillers of the ground, skilled in metal work, in making pottery, and in various handicrafts, which are evidence of considerable intellectual power and of capacity of being trained in the ways of civilisation. East Africa, in short, is a land peopled by different races, in different stages, and with different religions, a land which has been marauded but not ruled, though here and there the semblance of states has been created under savage despotisms or a barbarous feudal system. What is wanted is what the Romans gave in old times to their provinces, and what the English in later centuries have given to various parts of the world, viz. law and roads.

Africa, as a continent, as one whole, may be said to have

been, as far as history is concerned, non-existent before the present century. With the exception of one corner, it was hardly more than a coast-line, and a coast-line divided into at least three sections wholly unconnected with each other. In Egypt alone, in old times, there was something more than a seaboard, there was the valley of a great river, which flowed down from the unknown, testifying to the existence of inner lands not yet explored; and almost alone of African countries, Egypt had an individuality of its own, standing apart from other quarters of the world, though nearly allied to Asia¹. Outside Egypt, the northern coast of Africa was and is little more than the southern limit of Europe, the lower frontier of the Mediterranean world. The West Coast of Africa, when once made known in modern times, became through the slave trade little more than a dependency of America; and the traffic, which bound it to the New World, kept all behind the coast-line a locked-up land, a barbarous preserve for the slave-hunter. The southernmost peninsula of Africa was visited, tenanted, and administered only with a view to the East Indies; and the eastern coast of Africa was not so much a part of the African continent as the western shore of the Indian Ocean, linked to the opposite lands of Arabia and India.

Modern discoveries in the interior of Africa, coupled with such measures as the abolition of the slave trade, which in fact to a great extent made the discoveries possible, have done far more than bring to light snow-topped mountains under the Equator, the sources of great rivers, immense lakes, new native races, and the like. They have given unity to Africa, they have raised it into a continent from being a mere appendage to other continents. This work of creating and unifying, for it is hardly an exaggeration to use

¹ Gibbon (chap. i.) says of Egypt—'By its situation that celebrated kingdom is included within the immense peninsula of Africa; but it is accessible only on the side of Asia, whose revolutions, in almost every period of history, Egypt has humbly obeyed.'

these terms, has been in the main the work of explorers, of missionaries, of men who, like Livingstone, have been at once explorers and missionaries; and the lasting thanks of those who care for civilisation are due at once to the individual men and to the societies, scientific, philanthropic, and religious, which backed their efforts.

The connexion between West Africa and America, dishonourable and dishonoured, has been severed. It consisted in forced emigration from the Old World to the New, in the exportation of the native inhabitants of West African lands to work, and in time to people, American soil. The connexion between East Africa and Asia was somewhat different in kind, and has survived. It consisted in part no doubt in a slave trade, now practically stamped out, in carrying off Africans to the East rather for domestic than for praedial servitude. But it consisted too in Asiatic immigration, in Arab trade and settlement, and in the introduction of Mohammedan rule and the Mohammedan religion. The sultanate of Zanzibar is an offshoot from Arabia, and Arab blood and influence is still potent in East Africa. To the Arabs have been superadded, especially in later times, East Indians, traders and agriculturists too. As far south as Natal Indian coolies and Indian settlers form a considerable proportion of the population. In Nyasaland the armed forces of the Government consist in part of Sikhs, and East Indians are trading and tilling the ground. At Zanzibar British India has many representatives, and elsewhere on the East African coast the East Indian more than holds his own.

The Phenicians in old days came trading down from the north. When modern history opened, a European people, the Portuguese, found their way up from the south. As long as the Portuguese kept the coast of East Africa, they kept it with a view to India and as part of their Indian Empire. Their arrival made no break in the connexion between East Africa and Asia. Again, the British hold on

Zanzibar was mainly derived from India ; and, when the first beginnings were made of a new British province in East Africa, they originated with the chairman of the British India Steamship Company.

We have then in East Africa a continuance of the old historic connexion with the East side by side with the opening and development of the African continent. In the foregoing pages stress has been laid upon the fact that, in the absence of railways, trade and colonisation move from the coast inland along the water-ways, and that the great drawback to Africa has been the absence of water-ways, so that there has been little or no natural communication between the sea and the interior. Modern discoveries have unfolded a line of lakes in the centre of Africa. They by no means form a complete chain, but they are sufficiently within reach of one another to be already of great service to communication, and are likely to be of more use in the coming time. But they run from south to north, and only through the Shire and the Zambesi have they connexion at any point with the eastern sea. The northernmost group, the Nyanzas, drain to the Nile and Egypt, not in the direction of Mombasa or Zanzibar. The result is that in East Africa the ocean and the lakes are cut off from each other, and engineering science is asked to provide by rail the missing link. On the other hand, this very fact makes in a sense for the unity of Africa. On the map the eye follows the lakes up the length of the continent from south to north, not diverted at this point or that to the coast, and it becomes more evident than before that Africa is one.

How strong a hold Great Britain has secured upon these great lakes has been already noticed, and it will be borne in mind that, as a colonising power, she has long known in North America the value of inland seas. If it be asked, Why are the English in their present position in Central and Eastern Africa ? the answer is that they are there, as in other

parts of the world, through instinct and policy combined. The British colonial empire of old was confined to seaboard, peninsulas, and islands. The English never overran a continent, in the manner in which the Spaniards conquered Central and South America. Their continental possessions have come rather by gradual extension inland from the sea, except when pressure of foreign competition has quickened the movement, and state policy has taken the course which national instinct indicated. Strenuous once as slave-traders, in later and better times equally strenuous against the slave trade, the English in this century had long kept watch in East African waters. Off East Africa there lie islands such as have always attracted a seafaring and commercial race, such as, in the far East for instance, in the case of Singapore, of Penang, and of Hongkong, have become strong outposts of the British Empire, and great emporia of trade. Of these Zanzibar is the largest and most noteworthy, but Mombasa too is an island with harbours behind it, and Lamu and others might be quoted. There existed, therefore, to some extent in this coast-line a natural attraction for the English. Meanwhile, far away in the interior, the explorer by his discoveries excited men's imaginations and caused commercial restlessness ; the missionary and philanthropist proclaimed aloud the duty laid on England to root out slavery by land as well as by sea ; high policy subsequently came into play, and the doctrine of Sphere of Influence marked out in advance a continental dominion. The mainspring of action was the competition of Germany, a new colonial power, active from having come late into the field, specially active in Africa, because in Africa there was room for a new comer. Lest Central Africa should pass wholly or mainly into the keeping of another European power, lest the people whose interests were predominant on the Lower Nile should be cut off from the headwaters of the river, the English resolved to go forward. As has been

told, and as might have been in the case of England at any time foretold, private enterprise moved in front of the Government, and a Chartered Company played its part. Its charter was not long-lived, its career was not fortunate, but it did its work in securing British interests; and if in after times, through British rule and influence, good comes out of or into East Africa, it must not be forgotten that something is owed to the men who projected the Imperial British East Africa Company.

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